


SOURCES AND MEANS FOR FURTHER
ENRICHMENT OF TAGALOG AS
OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE

By LOPE K. SANTOS

Translated from the Tagalog and supplied with footnotes by
GABRIEL A. BERNARDO

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SOURCES AND MEANS FOR FURTHER ENRICHMENT OF TAGALOG AS OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE¹

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[*Note*—After recounting the long struggle for the recognition of teaching the Tagalog language in the public schools and expressing the satisfaction over the recent steps taken by the authorities of the University of the Philippines in encouraging the study and discussion of problems in the development of a national language, through public lectures, the author takes up the subject of his lecture—G. A. B.]

Among the many problems in the development of our mother tongue, which phase should be taken up first?

A law has been enacted by our National Assembly which provides for the creation of the Institute of National Language.² In the belief that it is most fitting to make a careful study and analysis of the problems the solution of which will facilitate the work and accelerate the realization of the aims of the Institute, I propose to discuss the following subject:

Should Tagalog be chosen as the basis for the development of our national language, which are the sources and means to be resorted to, for its further enrichment, so that it may cope adequately with the advance of knowledge?

I recognize and propose ten ways toward the solution of this problem:

First: The revival of archaic and obsolete words extant in old Tagalog dictionaries; i. e., words no longer in current use, or if at all, their use is not so common or widespread.

¹ *Mga Batis at Paraan ng Paggapanaman pa sa Wikang Tagalog na Pambansa*, public lecture delivered in Villamor Hall, University of the Philippines, on December 2, 1936, and January 14, 1937, under the auspices of the University President's Committee on Culture.

² Philippine Commonwealth, First National Assembly. *Special Session*. [B. No. 2391] (Commonwealth Act No. 184). *An Act to Establish a National Language Institute and Define its Powers and Duties*. (Approved November 13, 1936). [Reprinted in the *Philippine Social Science Review*, Dec. 1936, v. 8, no. 3, p. 363-365.]

Second: The search and collection of Tagalog words specially or strictly pertaining to limited fields or phases of nature; or to the life and activities of the people; or to parts and unity of things—i. e., words many of which are not found in authoritative dictionaries. For instance, the names of different kinds of sickness and the corresponding remedies; the names of different kinds of fishes and of the implements and places of fishing; names of trees, crops, grasses, vines, flowers, fruits, plant pests; names of weaving implements and cloths, fabrics, etc; sea-faring terms; old and new games and sports, etc.

Third: Derivation from sister dialects of words, particles, phrases, grammatical rules and categories not found in Tagalog, or, if found at all, their meanings are vague, or their pronunciation difficult to those who are not native Tagalogs or are not accustomed to Tagalog peculiarities; or the elimination of such Tagalog words as are the same in form but different or derogatory in meaning in the other native languages.

Fourth: Derivation from the Malay, Indonesian, and other Eastern languages of words and grammatical rules that do not exactly correspond to those of the Philippine languages, whenever their sounds and pronunciation are suited to our speech organs and can meet our linguistic needs as well as the requirements of Oriental culture.

Fifth: Derivation and borrowing from the Spanish, English, Chinese, and other foreign languages from which we have already adopted many loan-words now in current use, many of which pertain to names of objects and ideas imported into our country from Asiatic and Occidental countries.

Sixth: Reviving and giving of fixed meanings and functions to many obsolete derivative particles, now affixed to native dissyllabic roots, although these particles in themselves have no definite forms and meanings.

Seventh: Combining of two rootwords which, if joined together as simple words or as compound words with or without elision, give a third word standing for a new idea and meaning.

Eighth: Creation of words imitated or derived from the sound, form, idea, or other peculiarities of things to be represented by such words, and the agglutination of particles or portions of Tagalog words whose combination carries the ideas, movements and forms of things to be named thereby.

Ninth: The use of the proper accentuation or diacritical marks, on words which, if accentuated on different syllables, have two, three, four, or more meanings, either in their lexical or in their grammatical functions.

Tenth: The application of the "NEPA"^{1b} principle to our language: i. e., borrowed words, or words imitated from the foreign languages, should be replaced with native words, if these exist; the writing and pronunciation in accordance with our own orthography and pronunciation of words which, being legitimately of our own language, have been changed to and made to conform with the Spanish orthography and pronunciation. Most of these words represent names of persons, towns, provinces, islands, mountains, forests, rivers, seas, bays, etc.

Before proceeding with the discussion of these ten sources and means of further enrichment of our national language, I wish to explain that at the start of this investigation, I formulated only five of them; but as the study advanced, and because of the fact that the proposed language is national in scope and character and is not confined to the Tagalog speaking elements of the archipelago, I have increased the sources to ten as enumerated above. Who knows if in the process of further investigation, not only by myself but by others also, the sources and means herein stated may be increased or reduced in number?

At any rate, it is these ten sources and means that I propose to take up now. My treatment must necessarily be cursory in character, since an exhaustive study of the subject would expand it to such proportions as to enlarge each part into a length sufficient to cover the time allotted to the whole lecture.

With your indulgence, I shall proceed to the discussion of those sources:

I

The revival of archaic or obsolete words extant in old Tagalog dictionaries; i. e., words no longer in current use, or, if at all, their use is not so common or widespread.

In connection with this first source and means of enriching our language, I already wrote a lengthy account which appeared serially for over ten months in 1930-31 in the now defunct

^{1b} This is a very recent colloquialism derived from the initial letters of the words "National Economic Protectionism Association," and applied to all sorts of nationalistic fads.

weekly *Alitaptap*.² Despite the extent of this published study on the dead, obsolete, and already forgotten Tagalog words, which I began from letter A, I hardly reached letter G.^{2a} That is to say, words from the latter half of the number of those which begin with G up to the last word under Y of our native alphabet, were left untouched. In other words, my former study covered less than one half of the scope of the present topic which I propose to discuss now. This study is of utmost significance, but I find great difficulty in carrying it to its conclusion.

The most important source which I consulted in connection with this study was the dictionary of the priests Noceda and San Lucar.³ In my investigation, I also consulted for verification and settlement of doubtful points the dictionaries of Father Domingo de los Santos, 2d edition of 1794;⁴ of Rosalio Serrano, 1854 and 1872 editions;⁵ and the Spanish-Tagalog (edition of 1889)⁶ and the Tagalog-Spanish dictionaries of Pedro Serrano Laktaw.⁷ I used Noceda and San Lucar's Tagalog dictionary in the belief that up to the present time no other work of similar nature can compare with it in wealth, purity, and clearness of the words studied.

Of about twenty thousand purely Tagalog words gathered by Noceda and San Lucar in their dictionary which is now about two hundred years old, perhaps only one half their number are in current use among our present Tagalog writers. I can safely say that although Tagalog literature has made considerable progress, and although our Tagalog language has become richer in idioms, it is becoming poorer and poorer in its vocabulary.

² *Paano Mapayayamang Lalo ang Wikang Tagalog? Mga Paraan ng Pagbuhay ng mga Salitang Tagalog na "Patay" na.* [How can the Tagalog language be further enriched? Ways of reviving obsolete Tagalog words.] (In *Alitaptap*, beginning with the first Thursday issue, May 8, 1930, and extending to March 19, 1931).

^{2a} The last installment includes only as far as the word DALAYRAYAN; further studies up to letter G have not been published.

³ Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (1st ed., Manila, Imp. de la Compañia de Iesvs, por N. de la Cruz Bagay, 1754; 2nd ed., Valladolid, Imp. de Higinio Roldan, 1832; 3rd ed., Binondo, Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860).

⁴ Domingo de los Santos, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, primera y segunda parte (2nd ed., Sampaloc, en N. S. de Loreto, 1794).

⁵ Rosalio Serrano, *Diccionario de Términos Comunes Tagalo-Castellano* (1st ed., Manila, Imp. del Colegio de Sto. Tomas, 1854); *Nuevo diccionario Manual Español-Tagalo*, (Manila, Plana y Cia., 1872).

⁶ Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario Hispano-Tagalog*, Primera parte (Manila, La Opinion, 1889).

⁷ Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano*, Segunda parte (Manila, Santos y Bernal, 1914).

Among the causes of this impoverishment may be mentioned the following: (1) forced abandonment of many old Tagalog words, together with our apparent unwillingness to use words in vogue in the provinces and in out of the way barrios; (2) neglect in the use of corresponding accents necessary for the proper syllabic stresses, in written words, especially in the new printing presses; and (3) the acquired custom of using words derived from the Spanish and English, which in addition to developing a mixed language, makes our mode of expression foreign to our native peculiarities of speech.

It cannot be denied that if these three deplorable tendencies are curbed, the language which we aim to develop will be considerably enriched and made more easy to learn.

As explained in the introduction to my study which appeared in *Alitaptap*,* there are five ways of reviving and popularizing the old Tagalog words which have been abandoned or disdained as time went on and customs changed, which may be repeated here:

(a) The revival in the use of obsolete Tagalog words;

(b) The giving of new meanings to words which are no longer recognizable in their old meanings;

(c) The giving of distinct shades of meanings to different words which at present are given identical meanings;

(d) The distribution and limitation of the meanings of words which at present are given more meanings than necessary;

(e) The popularization of Tagalog words which at present are in common use only in isolated provinces or regions where Tagalog is spoken.

As a cursory explanation to these five ways, it can be said that there are not merely hundreds but thousands of Tagalog words already obsolete, or dead, in the old dictionaries, which would be lost if they are not forcefully revived. Many of those words are no longer recognized by the Tagalogs of today, and they are not used even in refined writing by those who are reputed to be experts in the use of our language. This fact led Austin Craig to remark, somewhat exaggeratedly, that "the Tagalogs of today and those of the time of the Lakandulas would not understand one another were they to engage in conversation now."

* *Op. cit.*

(a) *The revival of many Tagalog words which are now obsolete or already forgotten.*

The death or abandonment of these obsolete or already forgotten words is not necessarily due to their lack of vitality or to their natural loss of meaning or function in our language; rather is it due to the fact that some have been superseded by foreign words or "crushed out" of usage by expressions borrowed from other languages; others have been abandoned by modern Tagalog writers who, through laziness, have taken to adopting the modes of foreign speech and writing, or else have satisfied themselves with the use of words which, even if inappropriate, have been given arbitrary meanings and then so frequently used as to acquire popular acceptance without their inappropriateness being very much noticed.

Among the thousands of words thus discarded by time and usage, the following few examples may be mentioned:

Abás, abil, abong, alabô, alibób; balahak, balahasi, balantug; kababat, kagaskas, kurág; daway, dawol, diluma, dulahaká, dumay; paráy, gintubo, gisil, giyamo, gulubi; hagubhob, haliyamas, halap, hamat, hibat; malagod, magha, ma'im, manghaw, mitay, musim; niling, himpuho, ngasol, ngislaw; pahit, pahimis, pahibát, palamata; sakdo, sagam, salakata, sipo, sidha, subong; tabog, tabugi, tindayag, tinglô, tingloy, tuwáy; yanġot, yaot, etc.

These words, and thousands of others, may now be revived, because the ideas that they convey are still prevailing and they can still meet our needs now and even in the future when we shall acquire new or more knowledge.

(b) *The giving of new meanings to words which are no longer recognizable in their old meanings.*

Not a few of these words may be given new meanings, if the ideas they originally conveyed and their inherent peculiarities are carefully analyzed. We have applied this process to many words no longer understood in their exact or appropriate original meanings but in a more comprehensive and generally accepted new significance. For instance, we have now given comprehensive and new meanings to such words as *aklát, dulá, timpalák, súliranin, paraluman, binibini, inampalan, tiwakál, banyagá, batayán*, and many others. To the qualities of words like these are added new meanings different from or opposite to the original, or contrary to the concept of the corresponding

borrowed words; for instance, *diwatà*, which originally meant "the spirit of evil", is now understood as "the poet's muse"; *lapián*, which originally meant "union", or "society", now conveys the idea of "party" or "partition".

(c) *Giving distinct meanings to each of the different words which at present are given identical meanings.*

There are also words in our language with meanings which, though not completely identical, do not differ so much from each other. From these words, we may select a few which may be given meanings similar to the original concepts they conveyed, but already different in quality, form, and usage, as may be illustrated in the following groups of words:

Hapág, dulang, latok;

Duyan, aluyan, anduyan, indayan, indayon, inanduyan, duyanan, tayunan, angkam;

Abók, alabók, alikabok, aliabó, alialbo;

Akyat, panhik, adyo, ayro, oyro, sampa, ahon, suba, salunḡa, alapáw, salapáw;

Alám, batid, talastas, talós, tahó, tantó, tatap.

It is not undesirable, of course, to have in our language a variety of words from which we may select what is appropriate for each action or object we wish to name or describe. Especially in poetic composition, one of the literary forms which reveals the wealth and beauty of Tagalog, the existence in our language of a variety of synonyms is not only desirable but also very necessary. They will greatly facilitate line construction and rhyme schemes.

However, if there is an excessiveness of words for an idea and an absence of words to express another similar or approximate but not exactly identical idea, it is desirable to divorce these excessive words from an idea already expressed adequately, and apply them to other related ideas which as yet have no proper and specific words to represent them.

For example, we cannot exactly apply any one of the words *hapág*, *dulang*, or *latok*, as the exact equivalent form and meaning of the Spanish word "mesa" ("table"). We are forced to borrow this Spanish word, which is often mistakenly called *lamesa*, because when we say *hapág*, *dulang*, or *latok*, the idea conveyed to us is "mesa" or *lamesa*, it is true, but is so dwarfed and low that it is hardly any higher than the floor; in other words, it does not reach the height of our waist which the form

or height of the object called "mesa" in Spanish implies. In other words, instead of borrowing from a foreign language, or from any of the sister languages of Tagalog, why can we not give to these three words exclusive meanings corresponding to the different forms and heights of *lamesa* (table)? For instance is it not possible to accustom ourselves to the use of the word *hapag* as representing a "high table", *dulang* as representing a "low table", and *latok*, as the old writing table with a half-inclined top?

Similar propositions may be stated regarding words included in our dictionaries, some of which are still in use while others are already unknown, but from which a few may serve our present needs because of the changes in form and use of the objects which they name or represent. Let us consider, for example, the words of similar meanings like *duyan*, *aluyan*, *indayan*, *angkam*, etc. The word *duyan* may serve to designate "hammock" or swinging couch made of rattan, strings, or rope, used by grown-up or older people, which is known in Spanish as "columpio." *Aluyan* may serve to designate small hammocks sometimes made of blankets hung on ropes tied around their ends, and sometimes made of rattan or bamboo strips, in which babies are put to sleep. *Indayan*, *indayon*, or *indayuhan*, may serve to designate the wooden swings used by children in the playgrounds. *Angkam* may stand for the modern cradles or cribs or small inclosed bedsteads or cots for children, called "cuna" in Spanish. The word *hamaca*, which is the name given to the hammock of woven rattan strips suspended at the ends on a bamboo pole which two men carry on their shoulders and is used in Antipolo for transporting pilgrims, is not Tagalog but Spanish, although its pronunciation gives it a native sound⁹. This word may remain with us but its meaning may be limited to the hammock on poles carried on men's shoulders for transporting people to distant and elevated points.

I wish to repeat that the different meanings herein proposed for the words *hapag*, *dulang* and *latok* as well as for *duyan*, *aluyan*, *indayan*, *angkam*, etc., are tentative and serve merely as illustrations. My aim is just to show that there are many words in Tagalog which lose their value by being given a single meaning and linguistic function, although they can be utilized for designating other objects similar in nature and

⁹ The word "hamaca" incorporated into the Spanish language, is of American Indian origin.

idea to those already named, although somewhat different in form, shape, or use, and lacking a fixed terminology to identify them.

(d) *Distribution of new meanings so that they may be divorced from words that are more than sufficiently identified.*

This is not so different from the preceding means. Only this includes those words or phrases which are very numerous although they convey similar ideas, feelings, thoughts, movements, or objects, which they describe. Here, the enrichment of our language is no longer in the excessiveness of words but in the ideas, meanings, and functions represented by those words.

Do we have, for instance, one word in Tagalog which can be accepted as the exact and complete equivalent of each of the Spanish words 'ruido' and 'sonido' or the English 'noise' and "sound"? We can say that we have a countless number of them, but out of them all, not one satisfies. In other words, there is, and there is none; poverty in the midst of plenty! This paradox is applicable not only to Tagalog but to all the other Philippine languages as well.

We need only one Tagalog word as the exact equivalent of "ruido" (noise), and one as the equivalent of "sonido" (sound); that is, two Tagalog words that can cope with every conceivable meaning given to these two foreign words.

We must admit that our words *ingay* and *tunóg*, which are generally accepted as the respective equivalents of "noise" and "sound", do not fully satisfy our requirement for exactness in equivalence. Even if we borrow the Bisayan *banha* or *sabá*, these words cannot convey the general idea of those foreign words. And even in the Malay language, no two words are available to give the same distinction existing between "noise" and "sound" because both these English words have one equivalent in Malay: *bunyi*. This word is also well known to us for it is part of our language; only its Tagalog synonyms are different: *bantog* (famous), *dakila* (great), or perhaps *tunóg ng karanġalan* (the sound of honor).

However, for the single idea and the various qualities of *tunóg*, we have over one hundred different words akin to each other in sound and form. In the Tagalog dictionary by Noceda and Sanlucar¹⁰ are listed around eighty-eight kinds of "ruido",

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

each of which has two or three Tagalog equivalents; and for "sonido", there are over thirty shades of meaning. Many of those words are still in use now, and others are either already old and obsolete or still in use only in isolated provinces.

For "ruido" (noise) we have in Tagalog:

Agahat, agas-as, alagwak, alatiit, alingasn̄as, alingawngaw, aliw-iw,

Bagók, bululós,

Kagungkong, kalabóg, kalantog, kalansing, kalatis, kaluskos, kulisáw.

Dagarag, dagildil, dagisdis, dagundong, dayisdis,

Hagokhak, hagayhay, haging, haginghing, hagulhol, hagnót, haguták, hayuhay,

Lagaslas, lagislis, laguslos, lagitik, laguklok, lagutók, lagnót, lagusaw, langitn̄it,

N̄gayabyab, n̄gayatn̄gat, n̄galubn̄gob,

Pagalpal, pagaspas, pagispis,

Sagaak, sagalsal, sagitsit,

Tagupák, taginting, tagistis, taguktok, taguntong, talhak,

Ugók, ugong.

For "sonido", we are better off, for we have some Tagalog words which may be considered as equivalents, because they also have some generalizing characteristics, such as *tunóg, tinig, higing*; but we must admit that even these do not possess as complete a generalizing sense as "sonido" or "sound". I say this because, in addition to the general terms *tunóg* or *tinig*, we have to use the corresponding names of objects producing the various qualities of "sound", such as

Ang *tunog* n̄g batingaw—the ringing of a large bell

Ang *tunóg* n̄g salapi—the sound of metallic coins

Ang *tunóg* n̄g lalamunan—the noise in the throat

Ang *tunóg* n̄g lantaka—gun explosion

Ang *tunóg* n̄g kulog—clap or roar of thunder, etc.

We also have the general term *huni*, to represent the sounds produced by birds and small animals; for example:

huni n̄g pipít—call note of a pipit

huni n̄g kalaw—cry of a kalaw (night bird)

huni n̄g kuliglig—singing of a cicada

huni n̄g kwago—hooting of an owl

huni n̄g butikí—ticking of a house lizard

huni n̄g ahas—hissing of a serpent

But with reference to sounds produced by large animals, we have no general term; a specific term for each animal sound produced is used; for example:

n̄giyaw n̄g pusá—mewing of a cat

tahol or *kahol n̄g áso*—barking of a dog

un̄gal n̄g kalabaw—moo or bellow of a carabao

halinghing n̄g kabayo—neighing of a horse

atungal n̄g usá—lowing of a deer

hagukhok n̄g in̄git n̄g baboy—grunt of a pig

mēe n̄g kambing—bleating of a goat

māa (or *um̄a*) *n̄g baka*—moo of a cow

tilaok n̄g manok—crowing of a cock

siyap n̄g sisiw—cheep of a chick

kokak n̄g palaka—croaking of a frog

More or less, a similar deficiency may be noted with respect to the word *kahoy*; thus:

"arbol or tree—*kahoy* or *punong-kahoy*

"trunk of a tree—*puno n̄g kahoy* (if the tree is green or alive)

—*tuod* (if the trunk is already dead or dry, and only a portion of it stands on the ground)

"trozo" (log)—*troso n̄g kahoy*

"tabla" (board)—*tablá* or *kahoy*

firewood—*kahoy*

But the phrase *punong-kahoy* can be applied only to large trees or "arbol", not to smaller growths designated as "arbusto" in Spanish. It would not be flattering to us that our language should be deficient in specific and distinguishing equivalents corresponding to "arbol", "trozo", "tabla", because we have all the objects which these words represent. If in the old Tagalog dictionaries we cannot find already forgotten words for these specific objects, we may borrow from sister languages, or create words for these objects if any of the Philippine languages are deficient altogether, rather than borrow foreign words for things common and native in our own land.

It certainly is an indication of richness for a language to have different individualizing words for each of the numerous characteristics of an object which is also represented by a mass word. Words of individualization enable us to use a "special word to denote one of the single elements that together make up a mass."¹¹ This wealth in vocabulary is not so noticeable and useful in prose composition as in verse writing. It should be remembered, however, that one who is not a native Tagalog cannot be expected to learn and memorize each and every one of those words easily, and thus avoid the error or confusion of using a wrong word for a certain idea. For the benefit of non-Tagalog students, our language should have special and appropriate words for the use of beginners while they have not yet familiarized themselves with the proper use of words of individualization.

(e) *The popularization of Tagalog words the use of which is at present limited to isolated provinces or regions where Tagalog is spoken.*

Just because there are certain words used in the provinces of Batangas, Laguna, and Bataan which are not used in the city of Manila and in the other provinces of central Luzon, there are some foreign linguists who believe that the Tagalog language is also divided into "dialects", in the same way as the Bisaya, Ibanag, Bikol, Magindanaw, etc. They do not realize that the existence of some words in a few provinces which are not used generally in all the Tagalog regions, is not sufficient to create so many dialectical differences as to make it difficult or impossible for the people of these different Tagalog regions to understand one another. Such dialectical differences also occur in other extensively used languages of the world.

Even in a country where only one language is spoken, it is not unusual to find people of the mountain regions, for instance, using words or phrases not known to or not generally used by those of the plains and sea coasts, because languages, like manners, customs and usages, are subject to regional or local influences. We cannot expect the sea fishermen, for instance, to know all the words and phrases common among the inland farmers or the lumbermen of the forests.

¹¹ Otto Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (3rd ed., Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1927), part 2, p. 125.

The English language used by Americans ^{11a} differs considerably from the English used in England. The Spanish language of the people of Central and South American countries contains words and phrases which the people of Spain proper can not understand. Even the pronunciation and intonation of words differ in these different Spanish speaking countries. But not because of such differences can we correctly say that American English is merely a dialectic variance of English in Great Britain, and the Spanish as spoken in Central and South American countries a mere dialect of the Spanish in Spain.

Similar observations may be given as an answer to foreign linguists who say that Tagalog in itself is split into various dialects. We must admit that Batangas leads the rest of the Tagalog provinces in the number of difficult and unusual words used. Next to Batangas in this respect are the provinces of Tayabas, Marinduke, Mindoro, Laguna, and Bataan. In point of "sweetness" and gentleness of expression, on the other hand, the Tagalog of Bulacan leads. Manila and the surrounding provinces cannot be used as the basis for linguistic investigation, because here the Tagalog spoken is greatly mixed with and influenced by foreign words and phrases. All these, however, are not sufficient to justify the assertion that the Tagalog spoken in the southern regions is fundamentally different from that in the central and northern provinces of the Tagalog area. The difficult and unusual words in Batangas, Tayabas, and Laguna, are all found in comprehensive dictionaries. Although these words are not used in the other provinces, they are nevertheless understood in all parts where Tagalog is spoken, and almost all have their equivalents in each locality. From this we may deduce that gathering and using all these different words will enrich instead of destroying our language, especially in the number of synonymous words from which we can readily select appropriately to express an idea.

^{11a} See Henry Louis Mencken, *The American Language*; an inquiry into the development of English in the United States. 3d ed., rev. and enl. N. Y., Knopf, 1923, 489p.; 4th ed., corrected, enl. and rewritten. N. Y., Knopf, 1936, 769p.

See also William Alexander Craigie, *The Study of American English* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927); George Phillip Krapp, *The English Language in America* (N. Y., Century [for the Modern Language Association of America] 1925); Gilbert Milligan Tucker, *American English* (N. Y., Knopf, 1921).

II

The search and collection of Tagalog words specially or strictly pertaining to limited fields or phases of nature; or to the life and activities of the people; or to parts and unity of things—i. e., words many of which are not found in authoritative dictionaries. For instance, the names of different kinds of fishes and of the implements and places of fishing; names of trees, crops, grasses, vines, flowers, fruits, plant pests; names of weaving implements and cloths, fabrics, etc; sea-faring terms; old and new games and sports, etc.

In any language, even among the less advanced and scientific, there are certain kinds and groups of words not generally known except to those who are familiar with the things, actions, or uses which those words correspondingly represent, such, for instance, as the various kinds of sickness, sores, drugs, and medical treatment, for which we have native words the meanings of which only a few people know, or which vary in meaning in different provinces, but which if generally taught and accepted by all, may replace the Spanish or English words which we are now accustomed to use. In our dictionaries, very few words for the various kinds of sickness, sores, drugs, and medical treatment are found; and these few are not often used nor even known either by old-fashioned or modern physicians. For example, the words *bundoy* or *buntoy*, and *bilbil*, which correspond to the Spanish "hidropesía" (English, "dropsy"); *sigam*, for consumption or "tisis" (Sp.) or "phthisis" (English); *samasam*, a kind of pimples on the face; *tula*, for skin eruption around the mouths of babies; *katóy*, the growing gravity of an illness.

Similarly, we may consider names of different kinds of fishes and fishing implements, many of which are familiar to and used by seamen, fishermen, or owners of fisheries. Thousands of fishes and other species of water fauna live in and are caught or obtained from our seas, lakes, rivers, and other bodies of water. Many of these, if not all, have their respective native names; but how many of us know them? Our need for words of this nature can be supplied by the sea coasts and river regions of Bataan, Bulakan, Batangas, Tayabas, Cavite, etc.

Of the thousands of species in our Philippine flora, including plant life in forests and plains, field crops, vegetable gardens,

orchards, etc., and of the hundreds of different plant pests and diseases, only a few names are found in our dictionaries. Of the varieties of rice alone, many already have their respective names, but these are known only to scientific farmers.

With respect to parasites and diseases of agricultural and domestic plants and animals, I may cite my own experience as one-time translator into Tagalog of books, articles, lessons, instructions, rules and regulations, and other kinds of public documents which were once printed and distributed by a certain government bureau. Almost all of those publications were originally in English, since they had been prepared by Filipino writers in English.

In editing and printing those publications, the aim was to teach to the people new knowledge in plant and animal industries; that is, the plan was to educate the ignorant farmers and country folks who could speak only their native language. It was impossible for these people to know the names and nature of plant and animal diseases and pests to be eradicated, since all of these were represented by English words which they did not understand, and their known native equivalents were not even included to make them easily understood.

What actually happens is that the government has been spending considerable sums for those publications which cannot be understood by the very people who need to obtain the new knowledge which they must impart. Certainly, we have native words or names for most of the plant and animal pests and diseases, which can be more effectively used than the rampantly borrowed words.

For identifying other manifestations of nature, life and customs, sports and amusements, and many activities and means of livelihood of our people in different towns or localities, there are thousands and thousands of words which can be picked up, collected, developed, and taught to all, instead of their use being more and more limited to a few people until they disappear totally, or instead of leaving other Tagalog regions to their customary way of borrowing foreign words for which there is no absolute need.

III

Derivation from sister dialects of words, particles, phrases, grammatical rules and categories not found in Tagalog, or if found, their meanings are so vague, or their

pronunciation difficult to those who are not native Tagalog or not accustomed to Tagalog peculiarities; or of such Tagalog words which are the same in form but different or derogatory in meaning in the other native languages.

There are over eighty Philippine languages and dialects, according to their most recent enumeration;^{11b} these are grouped into a few language subdivisions, the best known and most extensive of which are: the Bisayan, the Iloko, the Bikol, the Tagalog, the Ibanag, the Pangasinan, the Pampangan, and the Magindanaw groups. For the purposes of our present study, we shall limit ourselves to these large groups, instead of taking up the different languages and dialects individually.

Of course, I believe that a tribe, however small, and its language, however poverty stricken, especially when they have an ancient history, are bound to possess some words which others do not have and which the latter may need. At all events, even in the case of younger languages, not to include the older languages, we may find occasional words and phrases that will fit into a general language which we need to enrich, since each language has its own natural peculiarities that fittingly describe the prevailing life and customs of the people who speak them. But in the preparation of a national language, we believe that it is not necessary to single out and analyze independently every one of the more than eighty languages and dialects just referred to; it will be sufficient for this purpose to deal with the older languages of these groups inasmuch as at all events they contain the essence of the majority of other smaller groups.

With respect to the Tagalog language, it is true that we can be proud of its inherent richness and of its ample ways and means for further enrichment. But inasmuch as we are now concerned no longer with Tagalog language merely for the Tagalog speaking group but for the entire Philippine archipelago, we cannot deny the fact that this language needs, and will need, additional elements it does not possess yet, but are to be found in the other sister languages which have their own wealth and beauty,

Words, particles, phrases, usages and grammatical rules—these can be obtained from the Bisaya, Iloko, Bikol, Pampangan, Ibanag, Pangasinan, Maranaw, Sulu-Samal, etc. The fact

^{11b} H. Otley Beyer, *Population of the Philippines in 1916* (Manila, Philippine Education Co., 1917).

is, we are justified in doing this since those languages are closely related to Tagalog.

However, great care should be exercised in borrowing from the other Philippine languages. Every word or phrase to be thus borrowed from those languages and incorporated into the Tagalog language must be carefully analyzed and subjected to the following rules:

(a) *When what is borrowed is originally of the sister-language from which borrowing is made.*

Extreme care, in this connection, must strictly be exercised, for it happens that supposedly original words in a language are nothing but loan-words not from closely related but from totally foreign languages. On the other hand, words are mistakenly considered as nonexistent in our own language, so that we are led to borrow from the Spanish or other foreign languages, and a careful examination of our dictionaries reveals that we have had them all the time, but they have been neglectfully allowed to become obsolete or forgotten altogether.

Let us take as an example the Spanish word "sombbrero". Because many of us now know no other object for covering the head, except the native word *salakot*, and that this word does not adequately represent the object "hat" as we now understand it, what we did was to borrow the Spanish word either in its correct form 'sombbrero' or its modifications "sumbrero" or "sumblero", or even its more corrupted form "sambalilo"; this sounds and appears like a real Tagalog word, as if it is a compound of *samba* (worship) and *lilo* (treachery), from which the Tagalog riddle *Sinamba muna, bago nililo—sambalilo* (It is worshipped first and then betrayed).

Oftentimes, the Pampangans, Ilokos, and even the Bisayans, claim that the Tagalogs do not have a native word for this object, so that we are compelled to borrow the Spanish "sombbrero" (or the corrupted "sambalilo"). The Pampangans claim that they have their native word *kupya*; the Ilokos have their *kal-lugóng*; and the Bisayans, their *kalo*. They all propose that the Tagalogs adopt these native words, instead of borrowing from foreign languages. The Pampangans are the most boastful, because they claim that *kupya* is original with their language, and cannot be taken for anything else in Tagalog; while the Iloko *kal-lugóng*, they further claim, may be mistaken for the Tagalog *tag-lugon*, or the stage of *panlulugon* or *pagkakalugon* or "shedding off of feathers of chicken or other fowls." Similarly the Bisayan *kalo*

(hat) may be mistaken for the Philippine bird *kalaw*, or with the differently accented Tagalog *kalô*, which stands for the Spanish objects "polea" (pulley), "carillo" (hoisting tackle), or "moton" (block for ropes run in).

The word *kupya* has attracted many a Tagalog writer, and has been occasionally admitted as purely Pampangan. But let us analyze this word.

In a Spanish-French dictionary,¹² we find the following:

Cofia—Réseau de la tête, pour retenir les cheveux.

Cofieta—Coffete, petit bonnet de femme.

In the same dictionary (French-Spanish section)¹³ the following words and definitions appear:

Coiffe (cuáf)—Gorra, papalina, toca, cofia que llevan las mujeres en la cabeza—Forro de sombrero.
—Red de peluca.

Coiffer (cuafé)—Cubrir ó tocar la cabeza, ponerse el sombrero.

In Webster's new English dictionary,¹⁴ we find among other things pertaining to the object under present discussion the following:

Cha'peau' (sha, po'), *n.*; *pl.* -PEAUX (-poz'; *F.* -po'), -PEAUS (-poz'). [F., fr. O.F. *chapel* hat. See CHAPLET.] 1. A hat or covering for the head. * * *

Coif (coif), *n.* [ME. *coufe*, fr. OF. *coife*, *coiffe*, fr. LL. *cofea*, *cuphia*, perh. fr. Gr. *Skyphion* skull.] A close-fitting cap. Specif.: A cap covering the sides of the head, like a small hood without a cape. * * *

An English-Malay¹⁵ gives the following:

HAT, Kepiah (Engl.), tudong kepala, topi

KEPIAH (Eng.), a hat, a cap

¹² Vicente Salvá and F. de P. Noriega, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Espagnol-Française et Français-Espagnol, avec la Pronunciation Figurée dans les Deux Langues* . . . Onzième édition. (Paris, Librairie de Garnier Frères, 1886). Part 2, p. 151b.

¹³ Vicente Salvá and J. B. Guin, *Nuevo Diccionario Frances-Español y Español-Frances* . . . 11a edición. (Paris, Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 1886). Part 1, p. 183a.

¹⁴ Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language* (2d ed., unabridged, Springfield, Mass., G. & C. Merriam Co., 1934). *Cha'peau*, p. 450. *Coif*, p. 521.

¹⁵ Sir Frank A. Swettenham, *Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages; with notes* (Shanghai, etc., Kelly & Walsh, 1922) 2 vols. See v. 1—English-Malay, p. 51, under HAT; or, v. 2—Malay-English, p. 64, under KEPDAH.

Under letter C, the Tagalog-English dictionary by Noceda and Sanlucar,¹⁶ gives the following:

Copyá, pc.—Casco de yerro. *Nangongopya*, traerlo
Mag, hacerlo, venderlo. *Mapangopya*, frequent.

and under letter S of its Spanish-Tagalog section,¹⁷ the following appear:

Sombrero.—*Caló*, pp. Sambalilo, pp. *Copia*, pc.
Sombrero de nipa.—*Torong*, pc. *Tacocong*, pc.
Sombrero de paja.—*Salacot*, pc. *Salocot*, pc.
Sombrero grande y ancho.—*Tancoloc*, pc.
Sombrero de paja o palma.—*Sauing*, pc.

while in Pampangan-Spanish and Spanish-Pampangan by Father Diego Bergaño,¹⁸ only the following words and definitions appear:

Cupia, (pc.). N. S. *Sombrero*. *Mag*, usarle. *Pagcopian*,
pigcopia, el sombrero.
Turung (a) N. S. *Sombrero de nipa*. *Mag*, usar.
Sombrero, usar—*Copia*, *Turung*.

From the preceding quotations, it appears that the word *kupya* or *cupia* (pc.) in Pampangan, is universally used, although it is written and pronounced differently in different countries and languages, to suit the linguistic peculiarities of each. Thus—

In Spanish, *Cofia*, *cofieta*.
In French *Coiffe*, *coffette*, *Cofea*,
cuphia, &
In English *Cha'peau*; *coif*. *Cof*, *cuff*.
In Malay *Kepiah*; *tudong kepala*
In Tagalog *Copyá* (pc.)—*Kupya*.
In Pampangan *Cupya* (pc.)—*Kupya*.

In the light of these astounding similarities out of which it is not so easy to single out the original from the borrowing languages, can we still assert that *cupia* or *kupya* is of Pampangan origin? And has Tagalog no right to consider the word as its

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

¹⁸ Fr. Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance* (2d ed., Manila, Imp. de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860), p. 85 b, 268a, and 335b.

own? What actually happens in this case is that the word *kupya* has been forgotten although it has been included in old Tagalog dictionaries, while we are becoming accustomed to using the borrowed word "sombbrero" which, through the lapse of time, we have become reluctant to discard, especially since it has already acquired a Tagalog semblance which enables it to invade even the realm of our riddles.

The words *tudong*, *torong* or *turung*, and *kaló*, may be similarly considered.

The Bisayan *todong* or *dungdong* also has meanings similar to those of *kupya*, namely: "Tener caído el cabello hacia el rostro. Cubrirse la cabeza, especialmente las mugeres,"—according to the Bisayan-Spanish and Spanish-Bisayan dictionary by Father Juan Felix de la Encarnacion.¹⁹

A hundred or more other examples can be given, but the above are sufficient to illustrate the necessity of extreme care in the selection and analysis of the etymology and use of words borrowed from sister languages, so that we may avoid the error of borrowing from the wrong source or borrowing what is already our own.

(b) *If the meaning is appropriate for the idea which the word is supposed to convey or represent.*

In this connection, I am constrained to mention an incident which, though somewhat amusing, may also be a useful gauge in the treatment of loan-words and their analysis.

Once, I happened to discuss with a well-known Iloko writer the problem of our national language. One of the reasons, according to him, that the Ilokos oppose the adoption of Tagalog as the national language, is the fact that this language has certain words which in their language have opposite meanings. Should Tagalog prevail, he further said, they will insist that words which in their language have opposite or derogatory meanings be replaced by appropriate Iloko equivalents. With this excellent proposition of my Iloko friend, I heartily agreed, but I asked him to illustrate his point, and he answered as follows:

"Take the Tagalog word *gamót* (medicine, remedy. In Iloko, this means "poison". So that if you were to say *gamu-*

¹⁹ Fr. Juan Felix de la Encarnacion, *Diccionario Bisaya—Español* (3rd ed., Manila, Tipografía de "Amigos del País," 1885), p. 106a.

lin ang maysakit (cure the sick) that would mean to us: 'poison the sick'. Again," he continued, "our Iloko word corresponding to your *gamot* is *agas*. This good Iloko substitute for your ambiguous Tagalog *gamót* should prevail."

For the sake of mutual understanding and cooperation, we might accept this proposed substitution. But the trouble is that the Tagalog *agas* has an entirely different meaning to us. It is also a "sickness and not a remedy", and what is worse, it is a violent female ailment.²⁰ What will happen in such a process of word substitution would be the discarding of what is "bad" for something worse.

We may also mention at this juncture the opinion of a well-known Pampangan writer who said that "the language of Crisot"²¹ and that of Balagtas,²² do not differ so much from each other; but," he said, "the Pampangan language is more advanced than the Tagalog, which also indicates that the Pampangan people preceded the Tagalogs in settling these islands, and were the first to bring culture to our shores. There are certain things," he further said, "which with the Tagalogs are just begun but which with us, the Pampangans, are already finished. For instance, take our word *ebon* or *ebun*. To us," he said, "that merely means 'an egg', but with you, it is already 'a chick' or 'a bird'."

The more I think over this puzzle, the more I am convinced that the explanation of our Pampangan writer gives just the opposite of what he means. The object which in Tagalog is called *ibon* (a bird) is in a more advanced stage than the Pampangan *ebun* (an egg), because what in Tagalog is already "a bird" (*ibon*) is still "an egg" (*ebun*) in Pampangan.

From this one example, we can see the necessity of exercising extreme care in selecting the words to be borrowed from sister languages, because what may be good in the language of origin may have an ugly or laughable meaning in the borrowing language.

If there are many good Tagalog words which have bad or opposite meanings in its sister languages, the same peculiarity is

²⁰ Hemorrhage due to abortion or other injuries to a female genital organ.

²¹ Pen name of the well-known Pampangan author, Juan Crisostomo Soto, who wrote the famous "comedia" *Gonzalo de Cordova* in his native language.

²² Balagtas, is the popular name of Francisco Baltazar (or Balagtas), considered the greatest Tagalog poet. His best known work is *Florante at Laura*, a Tagalog *awit* (metrical romance of 12-syllable lines).

true in these languages. Errors in selecting such words can be avoided only through careful study by those who are best qualified to undertake this task. The proper procedure is to list the words which have the same meaning in the different languages, then select the word which is not only most appropriate for the object which it represents but is also most easily pronounced and understood by the greatest number.

(c) *If the pronunciation and sound of a word is purely oriental in nature, and can be easily pronounced and is agreeable to the the hearing of all or the majority of the Filipinos—*

Just because a certain word in another language does not exist in Tagalog, is no reason for its immediate inclusion in the dictionary of the proposed national language; the word must be easily pronounceable to our speech organs and smooth to our hearing; we must determine whether our phonetic and grammatical rules are adequately suited to the peculiarities of the words chosen, and whether if spoken or written these are not likely to be confused, either in their pronunciation or their meaning, with words already in our language.

As a case in point, I am reminded of two prominent Iloko advocates of the Tagalog language, who became very active members of the "Samahán ng mga Mananagalog" (Society of Tagalog writers) during 1904 and in later years. One of them was José Fenóy, and the other was surnamed Gaerlan.²¹ These two gentlemen became indefatigable collaborators of Tagalog writers during those early years of the movement for the development and propagation of this language, in the search and gathering of Iloko words which might be added to and used in Tagalog, especially those that might be substituted for Spanish loan-words which those who were "purists", or were ardent advocates of pure Tagalog, were trying to suppress or at least reduce to the least possible number. Some of the Iloko words which Fenóy and Gaerlan proposed for adoption in Tagalog were accepted by the Society of Tagalog writers; others were rejected. One of the words proposed by Fenóy was the Iloko *agturay* which he wanted to substitute for the Spanish

²¹ Both of these gentlemen are now deceased. Mr. Fenóy was the nephew of the late Hon. Lorenzo Fenóy, representative from the Ilokos Province to the First Philippine Assembly, while Mr. Gaerlan was a relative of ex-Representative Gaerlan, also from the Ilokos region.

"gobernador" (governor). The proposed substitute was rejected for several reasons, among which was its possible confusion with the Tagalog *katuray*.²⁴ Just the spontaneous laughter elicited by the possible confusion of the Iloko *agturay* (to govern) and the Tagalog vulgar plant named *katuray* was sufficient to defeat Fenóy's proposition. Had this substitution prevailed, we would be calling our provincial governors *Apo Agturay*, instead of *Punong-Lalawigan* (executive officer of a province).

- (d) *In case sister languages differ in words which represent an object for which Tagalog has no equivalent, or in case the words in those languages are similar in form and meaning, which words should be chosen for the common national language?*

As examples, let us consider the Tagalog *araw* and *buwán*. For the equivalent of "sol" or "sun", we have no word in Tagalog except *araw*, and *araw* also means "día" or "day". The Tagalog *buwán* stands both for the Spanish "mes" and "luna", or the English "month" and "moon". It would, of course, be most desirable for Tagalog to have the separate words corresponding to "sun", "day", "month" and "moon". But this deficiency in Tagalog is common to all the other Philippine languages, and even to the old Malay which many consider as the common source of these languages. In this respect the Kana-kan languages are better off; for instance, the inhabitants of Yap or Caroline Islands have the word *ayal* for "sol" (sun), and the word *ran* or *erran* for "día" (day), although they have only the word *pul* for both "luna" (moon) and "mes" (month).²⁵ In other words, the Indonesian languages are also deficient in this respect.²⁶

Let us consider a little further the Tagalog word *araw* which has two meanings: the planet *araw* (sun) and the time interval "day" are both represented by one single word in the other Philippine languages: *aldaw* in Iloko, Pampangan, and Bisaya; *aggaw* in Ibanag; *agueo* or *agew* in Pangasinan; etc. The Ta-

²⁴ Name of a very common tree (*Sesbania grandiflora* Benth)

²⁵ See [Fr. Ambrosio de Valencina] *Primer Ensayo de Gramática de la Lengua de Yap (Carolinas Occidentales) con un Pequeño Diccionario* . . . (Manila, Imp. del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1888), p. 105, 113, 123. No word for *mes* (month) is given.

²⁶ The late Tagalog authority, Eusebio Daluz ("Bigay-Ilaw," pseud.), also proposed borrowing from sister languages and even from the Malay as one of the means of enriching the Tagalog language.

galog *buwan* is *bulan* in almost all the other Philippine languages, whether for the planet "moon", or for the 30-day time interval or one-twelfth of one year. Mr. Daluz proposed that to have distinct equivalents in Tagalog for "sun" and "day", *aldaw* should stand for "sun" and *araw* should remain for "day"; *bulan* should stand for "moon", and our *buwan* for "month". I am not yet convinced that this proposition is fully acceptable, for I believe it has its advantages and disadvantages. But since I realize that there is an urgent need of remedying our deficiency, I am including this as one of the problems that must be carefully studied in connection with loan-words.

- (e) *Lastly, if the words in the different sister languages, instead of having opposite or different meanings, supplement or help each other, they may all be accepted as different names for the same thing.*

In this fifth means, the problem is not so obscure or difficult of solution. There are the same things in the various Philippine dialects which have different names, but these names are usually used and understood by other localities wherein they are not native.

For instance, the words *kalabaw*, *damulag*, *nuwáng* and *daffug* (for "carabao"); *guyà* and *bulô* (for "suckling carabaos"); *tubig*, *danum*, and *dannum* (for "water"); and others. Our national language may be enriched, and different linguistic groups may understand one another more easily if words of this kind are generally accepted as synonyms.

In these five ways of selecting the necessary words from the Philippine languages, one general principle and rule should not be overlooked, namely: That, inasmuch as the basis for the national language which we are trying to enrich is Tagalog, in the event that this is the basic language chosen, the Tagalog rules of orthography, phonology, and grammar should be followed instead of those rules governing languages from which acceptable words are to be borrowed. These rules should also be followed in borrowing not only whole words, but also particles, phrases, and sayings.

(To be continued)

SOURCES AND MEANS FOR FURTHER ENRICHMENT OF TAGALOG AS OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE ²⁶

By LOPE K. SANTOS

Translated from Tagalog and supplied with footnotes by
GABRIEL A. BERNARDO

(Continuation)

IV

Derivation from the Malay, Indonesian, and other Eastern languages of words and grammatical rules that do not exactly correspond to those of the Philippine languages, whenever their sounds and pronunciation are suited to our speech organs and can meet our linguistic needs as well as the requirements of Oriental culture.

It cannot be denied that we have adopted many loan-words from the Malay language in the first place, and from the other languages belonging to the so-called Austronesian group. It is to be recalled that the late Dr. Pardo de Tavera published in 1887 a monograph on Sanskrit loan-words in Tagalog,²⁷ in which he included about three hundred Tagalog words that he believed had been borrowed from Sanskrit or left in these islands by the Hindus who came here from Malaysia bringing with them their own culture.

The existence of very many words in the Philippine languages, which are identical or similar to Malay words is the strongest reason why linguists and ethnologists believe that those Philippine languages are of Malay origin. Although scholars have not entirely agreed on this question of origin, the

²⁶ In footnote 21 to the first part of this paper (Phil. Soc. Sc. Rev. June 1937, v. 9, no. 2, p. 121), the Pampangan author, Juan Crisostomo Soto, is credited with having written the famous "comedia" *Gonzalo de Cordova*, on the assurance of two scholars of recognized standing, both natives of Pampanga. After a later investigation on the life and works of Juan Crisostomo Soto, by Mr. E. Arsenio Manuel, it has been definitely determined that Soto never wrote this "comedia", according to a testimony given by his heirs. The Pampangan "comedia" in question was written by Father Anselmo Jorge Fajardo, and published in Bacolor, Pampanga, by Cornelio A. Pabalán Byron, in 1912, under the title "Comedia Heroica de la Conquista de Granada, o sea Vida de Don Gonzalo de Cordoba" (Pampangan title, "Ing Cumidia nang Gonzalo de Cordoba").

²⁷ T. H. Pardo de Tavera. *El Sanscrito en la Lengua Tagalog*. Paris Imprimerie de la Faculté de Médecine, 1887. 55p.

fact is that thousands of Malayan words are now found in Tagalog, and a few of our particles are also being used in Malay which so far is the most extensively spoken at the present time in Java, Sumatra, Malacca, and Indo-China. Not a few of the Sanskrit words found in Tagalog by Dr. Pardo de Tavera are also found in Malay.

I have been puzzled ever since the beginning of my studies of this linguistic problem. If it is true that Tagalog is merely an off-shoot of Malay why is it that we have word formations and sentence constructions not found in the Malay language? And why is it that Tagalog, which was not taught to the people nor studied by them during more than three hundred years of Castillian domination of these islands, and its use in the Philippine (English) public schools is even prohibited at present, has about fifty living derivative particles and about a hundred more not in active use, while Malay has only about fifteen such derivative particles, despite the fact that the teaching of the latter is made easy for the people and is even compulsory in the schools from the lowest to the highest grades? In other words, the teaching and study of Malay is being encouraged instead of being prohibited among the natives, and there is no attempt on the part of the foreign colonizers to replace them with their own languages, contrary to what is being done in the Philippines. One also wonders why Tagalog and the other Philippine languages have ligatures and synalephas which make our languages very euphonic, while Malay has none of these. Up to the present time I have been unable to find any satisfactory explanation to these linguistic facts, although I have not given up this pursuit.

In the meantime, let us admit the fact that Malay has many words which have no equivalents in any of the Philippine languages, and it is these that we can borrow, since in sound and pronunciation the Malay language is similar to ours.

The late linguist, Eusebio Daluz, was the first among our modern Tagalog writers to add Malay loan-words to our dictionary. Some of the loan-words that he proposed to adopt found general acceptance, although many others were not accepted. Of those words may be mentioned *bansa* (nation), *guro* (teacher), *arang* (individual), *nama* (name or noun), *dalam* (royal household), *burong* (bird), etc.

Because of the affinity between the Philippine languages and Malay which is the most extensively used along the east of

Asia and in Southern India, and because the Malay language has its own history, peculiarities and usage similar to ours, it would not be a mistake for us to continue borrowing from it while we are still in need of new words which will help in enriching our national language.

The exact relationship between the Austronesian and Indonesian races and languages and those in the Philippine Archipelago remains to be determined. I must confess my inability to solve this problem, so that while I favor our adopting loan-words from those languages before we borrow from Occidental languages, I am not ready to give reasons why such borrowing can or should be done.

V

Derivation and borrowing from the Spanish, English, Chinese, and other foreign languages from which we have already adopted many loan-words now in current use, many of which pertain to names of objects and ideas imported into our country from Asiatic and Occidental countries.

The derivation and borrowing from such Occidental languages as Spanish and English, as well as from such Oriental languages as Chinese, Japanese, etc., depend upon our need of the various ways of expression to represent progress in economic life, citizenship, association, religious belief, human understanding, art, and other manifestations of culture of these countries, which we may add to our own.

I am using here the two words, "hangō" (derivation) and "hiram" (borrowing). The word "derivation" is here used with reference to other Philippine languages; "borrowing" is used with reference to foreign languages. This distinction is based on my belief that any foreign language, the use of which is imposed and accompanied by the domination of a race or nation having its own individuality and culture, prevails over the language of the latter only as long as the colonizing nation remains in power. This fact is more evident when the race and history of the colonizing nation are different from those of the colonized country.

The foreign words which remain absorbed in the native language of a country that later becomes free from foreign domination may continue in use as an indication of the latter's influence; but as time goes on the former gradually discards those foreign words from its literature and tries to replace them as much as possible with loan-words modified in such manner

as to conform with its own. It is possible that some of these loan-words do not need to be modified at all, because as time goes on they become as permanently absorbed as the cultural influence, custom, and knowledge that have been interwoven into the new life of the young nation that borrows them. Gradually, those loan-words find their way into its writing and phonology until they become embodied as a permanent contribution to its own vocabulary.

There is a difference between our need of words borrowed from foreign languages and of those derived from our native languages. From the latter, words are readily absorbed and need not be discarded for they are akin to our own; from the former, however, the borrowed words are so different and can be so easily differentiated from our own that they can be readily discarded when we no longer need them.

It can be shown that Tagalog has more Spanish loan-words than words borrowed from the Chinese and English languages. And yet in a recent study made by Professor Cecilio Lopez ^{27a} of the University of the Philippines, he has found only four hundred sixty-six Spanish loan-words incorporated in the Tagalog-Spanish dictionary of the late native scholar, Pedro Serrano Lak-taw.^{27b} Considering the facts that the combined political and religious domination by Spain prevailed in the Philippines for about three and a half centuries, introducing western civilization into our country through its armed forces, language, laws, religion and schools, and that only less than five hundred Spanish words have found their way into the Tagalog vocabulary, it is reasonable to attribute to this language an inherent wealth in words and phrases sufficiently adequate to meet the requirements of modern culture. The Spanish loan-words in Tagalog are insignificant in number compared with the thousands of loan-words found in the Romance and English languages.

The introduction of Spanish loan-words into Tagalog has also influenced our mode of expression. We have certain thoughts and ideas which we cannot as adequately express nor can they be as clearly understood in our native language, as when we use the Spanish mode of expression. And because the intermixture of words and phrases also affects our thinking and speech processes, there are many of us who, before expressing

^{27a} Philippine Social Science Review, v. 8, no. 3, p. 223-246.

^{27b} Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano. Segunda Parte. (Manila, Santos y Bernal, 1914.)

or writing down in Tagalog certain ideas or decisions, or the description of an object or event, have to think it all out first in Spanish, so that their modes of expression become more mixed or foreign than natural to our own mode of thinking.

Nor is this phenomenon peculiar to Tagalog. In certain Tagalog regions and even in Zamboanga, a peculiar type of Spanish which resembles the Tagalog in form and spirit has cropped up. I refer to the so-called "shop", "market", or "mixed" Spanish which up to the present time, forty years after the termination of Spanish rule, is still in use in certain districts of Manila, Cavite and Zamboanga. This language, though Tagalog in gramatical pattern, employs Spanish vocabulary.

I recall Pardo de Tavera, Felipe G. Calderon, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, and a few others among our historians and linguists who are now dead, as having written something about this hybrid language. It is hoped that some one will take up this study in earnest and write its history, and determine its extent and value as a linguistic phenomenon peculiar to the Philippines at the time when the Spanish language was at the height of its popularity in this country.

On the English loan-words in Tagalog, very little can be said with any degree of definiteness, as the English language has been in use in the Philippines for a shorter period than Spanish. I recall, however, that two women writers have already made some studies of this subject, one of whom is Miss Consuelo Jimenez who wrote a short monograph in 1924.²⁸

At present most of the English words that have found their way into every day speech among the Tagalogs (and other Filipinos) are those which are used in the realm of games and sports, such as *isport* (sport), *boksing* (boxing), *beisbol* (base-

²⁸ The monograph referred to is entitled "On the influence of English in the Tagalog language", published jointly with Prof. Otto Scheerer as pamphlet No. 3 of *The Archive* (1924), under the editorship of Professor Otto Scheerer, Emeritus Professor and Head of the Department of Oriental Languages, University of the Philippines.

An earlier study was made on the same subject by Professor Maria Agoncillo, under the title "Some influences of the English language on the Philippines," which she submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, University of the Philippines, 1922 (still in MS.)

A much later article appeared in *Graphic* (Manila, Sept. 9, 1937, p. 22-23, 60-61), written by Lamberto V. Avellana, under the title "Kenkoy English". This author criticizes the Filipinos for carelessness in pronouncing English words, and explains that "as we use the English language in society and in business, we may as well speak it the right way."

ball), *indor* (indoor baseball), *putbol* (football), *boling* (bowling), *tenis* (tennis), *golp* (golf), etc.; and the various forms, movements, manner of playing, rules, and ways of contests and disputes peculiar to each, such as *ining* (inning), *homran* (home run), *iskor* (score), *ampay* (umpire), *gem* (game), *pleysing* (placing), *pait* (fight), *paraktis* (practice), *paul* (foul), etc. Next in number are words pertaining to the school, such as *iskul* (school), *haiskul* (high school), *praymari* (primary), *intermedyet* (intermediate), *buk* (book), *tesbuk* (textbook), *blakbord* (black board), *pensil* (pencil), *póntimpen* (fountain pen), *drapaper* (draft paper), *émbelop* (envelope), *atén* (attend), *absen* (absent), *espesimen* (specimen), *garden* (garden), *bakasyon* (vacation), *leson* (lesson), *program*, etc.

Even in the realm of games and sports and in the schools, there is frequent admixture of Spanish and English words combined and adopted as Tagalog phrases; for example, *sing* and *taulya* (Eng. "sing", Sp. "tohalla"), *net* and *bola* (Eng. "net"; Sp. "bola") *raketa* and *pleysing* (Sp. "raqueta"; Eng. "placing"), *embelop* and *papel* (Eng. "envelope"; Sp. "papel"), *póntimpen* and *tinta* (Eng. "fountain pen"; Sp. "tinta"), *pensil* and *libro* (Eng. "pencil"; Sp. "libro"); etc.

Judging from the admixture of Tagalog and English to which our school children and even college students are becoming addicted in their daily conversation, we see that the development of another hybrid speech, similar to the "shop" Spanish already referred to, is not a remote possibility. While in the latter, however, whole Spanish words, slightly modified, are used in Tagalog grammatical constructions, in the English-Tagalog hybrid, whole English words are loosely modified both in pronunciation, more in conformity with the native phonetic pattern, and in the use of Tagalog derivative particles. The difference between the Spanish-Tagalog (or "shop" Spanish) and the English-Tagalog ("Bamboo" English) hybrid languages may be noted in the following examples which are commonly heard in every nook and corner:

1. Common Tagalog construction: *Ihulog mo n̄ga sa "busón" itong sulat ko.* (Literally: Please drop this letter of mine into the mail box.)

2. In "shop" Spanish (or Spanish-Tagalog hybrid): *Echá n̄ga bos na buzón este me carta.*

3. In "bamboo" English (or English-Tagalog hybrid): *Imeil mo n̄ga itong letter ko.*

1. *Ipagagawa ko ang buong kasiraan ng aking auto.* (I shall have my automobile completely overhauled.)

2. *A de manda yo hasi un reparación general con mi auto.*

3. *Ipadidyeneral-ober-holing ko ang aking auto.*

1. *Galit na galit si Tatay nang makuha sa aklat ko ang sulat mo.* (My father was very, very angry when he found your letter in my book.)

2. *Empadao na empadao mi papá cuando ya descubri tu carta na mi libro.*

3. *Beri-engring beri-engri ang aking pader nang madiskober sa buk ko ang leter mo.*

Chinese loan-words in Tagalog, on the other hand, are so indispensable and useful because our language has no equivalent for the objects they represent, that we cannot afford to discard them. These words have come down to us either with Chinese "tools and the products of labor" which we have learned to use, or with their cookery which we have come to relish.²⁹

Of the Chinese loan-words found in Tagalog, the most numerous are those which refer to Chinese trade, tools and utensils, medicine, foods, and even surnames. These are mostly root-words (phrases being almost if not totally absent) which are incorporated into our language in their original form and then later modified after the Tagalog patterns for the formation of derivatives. For example:

Buwisit—Huwag mo nãa akong buwisitin.

Suwitik—Di biru-birong kasuwitikan.

Lumpiya—Maglumpiya ka nã ubod nã niyog.

Sihuktong—Alak na sihuktong ang inumin mo.

Táhuré—Ang dukha ay nagsasatahure na lamang.

Siyansi—Siyansihin mo ang mukha niya.

As long as the Chinese bring or make their own objects here and we own or make common use of them, we are forced to accept the names that come with them since we do not find their equivalent in our own vocabulary, nor can we coin words for objects not originally our own.

²⁹ A very interesting discussion on "language and work" is given by Margaret Schlauch as section IV of her article on "The Social Basis of Linguistics" (*Science and Society*, 1936, v. 1, p. 38-41.)

³⁰ Buisit. Infortunado, 'da; desgraciado, -da; *adj.*/ de mala sombra. Es de origen chino; palabra compuesta de BO, sin, no tener, é ISIT, suerte, viniendo á significar sin suerte, de mala sombra. (Pedro Serrano-Lawtaw. *Diccionario Tagalo-Hispano*, 1914, p. 149.)

Of the three languages already mentioned—Spanish, English, and Chinese—the first is our easiest source for the derivation of words relating to the many phases, instruments, products and creations of civilization, whenever this language possesses such words, even for the things brought to our country by American civilization. Such preference for Spanish loan-words is based on the fact that whether in pronunciation or in writing, in their construction or in reading, they are not very different from the Tagalog.³¹ Spanish phonology and orthography are almost the same as ours; while those of English and Chinese are quite different.

This conclusion is not general but refers only to a great many and the most common (Spanish) words; for there are also English and Chinese words which are not difficult to pronounce and write in Tagalog because they conform with the rules and peculiarities of our own language.

I have purposely avoided discussing the commitment of other linguists who suggest the creation or derivation of scientific names from Greek and Latin, since this is a problem for more advanced studies quite beyond what I am now undertaking. I shall leave that task to the newly created Institute of National Language.

VI

Reviving and giving of fixed meanings and functions to many obsolete derivative particles, now affixed to native dissy-

³¹ It is quite obvious that the incorporation of loan-words in a language is prompted by the necessity of expressing thought more adequately which is difficult if not altogether impossible if such loan-words were not adopted. Boas, however, has expressed this deduction: "Thus it would seem that the obstacles to generalized thought inherent in the form of a language are of minor importance only, and that presumably language alone would not prevent a people from advancing to a more generalized form of thinking, if the general state of their culture should require expression of such thought; that under these conditions, the language would be moulded rather by the cultural state." (Franz Boas. *The mind of Primitive Men*. N. Y., 1911. p. 153.)

The similarity of modern Tagalog to Spanish in phonology, orthography, and even in grammatical categories referred to by the author is not so marked as his generalization would seem to indicate. The fundamental differences between a Romance language like Spanish and Tagalog which is a branch of the old Indonesian stock of languages are quite well known. However, "it must be remembered" in this connection, as Margaret Schlauch has said, "that in actual history a language is actually subject to the good or evil fortune of being spoken by alien peoples.... different from those who impose it, and in their mouths it may therefore have an accelerated or retarded development.... The development of grammatical categories is not only a product of change in languages formerly agglutinating, but also in its turn has a reverse influence (*Rueckwirkung*) on the spirit of those speaking." (*Ibid.*, p. 32.)

labic roots, although these particles in themselves have no definite forms and meanings.

Particles are monosyllables or polysyllables prefixed, infixes or suffixed to root-words to form derivatives. These particles standing alone do not have complete or distinct meanings; they acquire grammatical categories only when affixed to root-words. They are called *living particles*.

There are also monosyllables or dissyllables, and sometimes single letters, which, when affixed to root-words or syllables without formative element, do not give them any grammatical categories; these may be called *dead particles*.

Of the *dead particles*, I have listed the following:

Ala, ali, alu; aling, alung; alim, alum; alin, alun; alik, alig;

Ba, bi, bu; bang, bam, ban; bala, bali; balu, balang, balam, balan; baling, balim, balin; balung;

Kala, kali, kalu; kalang, kalam, kalan; kaling, kalim, kalin; kalung, kalum, kalun;

Da, di, du; dam; dala, dali, dalu; dalang, dalam, dalan; daling, dalim, dalin; dalung, dalu, dalun;

Ha, hi, hu; hang, ham, han; hing, him, hin; hala, hali, halu; haling, halim, halin;

Mala, mali, malu;

L; la, li, lu; a, il, ol;

Sala, sali, salu; salang, salung, salum;

Ta, ti, tu; tang, tam, tan; ting, tim, tin; tung, tum, tun; tala, tali, talu; talang, talam, talan; taling, talim, talin; talung, talu, talun; tagi, tagu.

The root-words to which these particles are affixed are almost all of two syllables, and most of them have no complete or distinct meanings, so that they may be considered as natural parts of words and are not real particles. For purposes of the present discussion, only a few of these particles will be cited to illustrate how they can be used to enrich the language if given the necessary meaning for the purpose of creating new words, in accordance with the established rules and with our present needs.

Let us consider, for example, the particles *ali*, *alim*, and *alin*. In the words *alipalâ* (at once), *alibughâ* (inconstant, voluble), *alikabok* (dust); *alimbukay* (splashing water in rowing), *alimpuyô* (whirl); *alinlangan* (doubt), *alinsuwag* (to go back on one's way or to go against the current); we cannot give specific meanings or known use to the root words *pala*,³² *bughâ*,

kabok;³² *bukáy*, *puyó*,³² *langan*, *suwág*.³² But some one has thought of prefixing *ali* to *tunton* or *tuntunin* (trace); *alin* to *sunód* (follow) and *sabay* (simultaneous, at one time), thus forming the words *alitunton* or *alituntunin*, (rules), *alinsunod* (according to) and *alinsabay* (accompany). From these we have derivatives whose natural meanings and usages are different from *tunton*, *sunód*, and *sabay*.

Supposing now that we want to vivify the dead particles *ali*, *alin*, and *alin*, giving them the meaning of *ayon sa* (according to), or *malapit* (near to). These are mere examples. And suppose that *batás* (law), *agos* (current or flow of water), *landas* (path) and *bago* (new) are the root-words to which we wish to affix these particles. Then the following derivatives will be the result:

Umalibatas (or *umalimbatas*) *ka*—which means: "Ang iyong mga ginagawa ay iayon (ó ilapit, ó itunton) mo sa batas." (Do your tasks according to law.)

Paaliagos tayo—"Umayon tayo, ó sumuncd tayo sa agos." (Let us go with, or follow, the current.)

Alilandasan—"Tuntuning landas na di dapat sinsayan." (The right path from which we should not go astray.)

Ialimbago ang ating mga paaralan—"Isunod ó ilapit sa mga bagong palakad ó kaugalian ang mga paaralan natin." (Let us conduct our schools in accordance with modern ways or practice.)

I repeat that the functions I am proposing for the particles are merely tentative. More appropriate meanings and usage may be found or thought out for them.

Again, let us take the consonant *l*, which is also of the nature of a *dead* particle, but which may change the meaning of the root-word to which it is affixed, as in the following examples in pairs:

Batak—Gentle but constant pulling.

Baltak—Intermittent and jerky pulling.

Gabót—Pulling out of grass.

Galbót—Intermittent pulling out.

Sipót—Unexpected appearance or arrival.

Silpot—Sudden appearance or arrival.

³² *Palá*, *kabok*, *puyó*, and *suwág* are root-words having distinct meanings: 'support', or 'favor', 'dust' (*gabok*), 'spiral formation of hair on the head or body of persons or animals,' 'to butt with horns,' respectively.

Sigabo—Vehement outburst (of fire, passion).

Sigalbo—Intermittent outburst.

Often times the particle *la* is contracted by the elimination of the vowel *a*, giving the derivative a meaning of more rapid and sudden action; such as *kalbit* for *kalabit*; *kalbog* for *kalabóg*, *salbid* for *salabid*; etc.³³

The particle *ti* is usually prefixed to root-words without changing their meanings; for instance, *tigatig*,³⁴ *tibatib*,³⁴ *tibuhos*; but there are words which, when the particle *ti* is prefixed to them, acquire a distinct meaning; as,

Tiwakál—suicide.

Tihulóg—intentional falling down.

Tirapâ—intentional falling face downward.

Usually this particle *ti* is compounded with the living particle *pa* prefixed to it, so that the above words become *pagpapa-tiwakal*, *magpapatiwakal*, *magpatirapâ*, etc.

In expressing an idea the corresponding action for which is intentional and self-inflicted, the dead particle *ti* may be used occasionally if not always.

Once, I used the particle *talá*³⁵ in forming a Tagalog word corresponding to "dictionary." At that time, I could not bear the oft-repeated criticism that Tagalog had thousands of words, and that our language was extremely rich, and yet we did not have our own word to correspond to the collection of those words and their meaning or to represent a list of Tagalog words and phrases.

The word *tinig* or *tingig* which, aside from its primary meaning *voice*, also means *word*, is the radical to which I prefixed *talá*. To the derivative *talatinig* I added the suffix *an*, resulting in *Talatinigan* which means, more or less, "A list of voices or words." *Talatinigan*, as meaning "Dictionary," was readily accepted by groups of Tagalog writers and came to general use in periodical publications and in linguistic conferences. Now this is a Tagalog word that can no longer be discarded,

³³ This is clearly an uncommon and incorrect contraction. A very convincing treatise "On the particle *al* in Tagalog" by Julian C. Balmaseda, has disproved the existence of the infixes *la*, *li*, *lo*, which L. B. Wolfenson tried to demonstrate in his article which appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, v. 27, p. 142-146.

³⁴ Does not these convey the reduplication of the syllables *tig* and *tib*, with the infix *a* between them?

³⁵ *Talá* is a root word, meaning 'to mark' or 'write down.' The word formation here discussed is obviously the compounding of two root-words.

since in addition to being compounded from Tagalog words, it also meets an urgent need.

Through the process of vivifying and giving derivative functions to *dead particles* like *talá*, we may form other Tagalog words needed in the realm of arts and science in lieu of the Spanish or English loan-words which we use at present; for example, *Calendario*, *Catálogo*, *Pay-roll* or *Nómina*, *Registro de escolares*, *Registro de licencias*, *Registro de matrimonio*, *Registro de impuestos*, etc. Would it not be better for us to use the Tagalog equivalent for each of these foreign phrases, rather than borrow them? For example:

Taláarawan—Tálaan ng mga araw—(Calendario)

Taláaklatan—Tálaan ng mga aklat—(Catálogo)

Taláupahan—Tálaan ng mga upa o pasahod—(Pay-roll)

Taláaralan—Tálaan ng mga nag-aaral—(Registro)

Talátulutan—Tálaan ng mga pahintulot

Talákasalan—Tálaan ng mga kasál

Talábuwisan—Tálaan ng mga buwis

The particles *maka* and *mala*, are *living* particles, having specific grammatical categories, in Tagalog, but they are mentioned here to show that even living particles can be used by enlarging their functions for further enrichment of our own language.

The original function of *maka* is to convey to the root word the ideas of "may", "possible", "be able to", as in the following examples:

Makaaalis nang maaga—maaaring umalis nang maaga—(May depart early).

Hindi makabuhat—Waláng-kayang bumuhat—(Not able to lift).

Di-makagigitaw—Di mangyayaring gumitaw—(Not possible to appear [or to prevail]).

I now recall that when the late Pascual H. Poblete who through his periodicals *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan* (Brother of the People) and *El Grito del Pueblo* (The People's Cry) was earnestly combating the linguistic influence of the friars, he succeeded in attributing new functions to *maka*, such as *kampi sa* (on the side or faction of), *mahilig sa* (inclined to), *tagapagtanggol sa* (defender of), *mapaglangis* (flatteringly servile to); hence, *makaprayle*, 'on the side of', 'inclined to', 'defender of', 'flatter-

ingly servile to', the friars. By analogy, such words as *maka-amerikano* (Americanist), *maka-bayan* (patriot), appeared; also, *maka-Rizal* (pro-Rizal), *maka-Bonifacio* (pro-Bonifacio), *maka-Amerika* (pro-America), *maka-Hapon* (pro-Japanese).

On the other hand we do not yet have the antonyms for these ideas. As long as our Philippine languages are still deficient in this respect, we have to use the Latin or Spanish (or English) particle *anti*; hence, *anti-prayle* (*anti-friars*); *anti-kalayaan* (against independence), *anti-Hapon* (*anti-Japanese*), *anti-Amerika* (*anti-American*), etc., in lieu of *lalan sa prayle* (against the friars), *kalaban ng kalayaan* (enemy of freedom), *salungat sa Hapon* (against the Japanese), *di-sangayon sa Amerika* (not in favor of America), etc. We may, therefore, accept the particle *anti*, inasmuch as this is already being used and understood by many, aside from the fact that it is not difficult for the Tagalog to pronounce it.

The inherent function of the particle *mala*, on the other hand, is to give to the root-word or the object which it names the idea or meaning of 'like' or 'similar to', 'almost', 'seemingly'. For instance, the names of certain trees or plants; *malakalyos* (a tree like *kalyos*); *mala-duhat* (a tree or fruit similar to *duhat*); *malapakó* (a plant which tastes like *pakó*); also names for certain stages of maturity of the coconut meat: *mala-bigas* (as hard as uncooked rice); *mala-kanin* (as hard or as soft as cooked rice); *mala-uhog* (as soft as mucus); etc.

Not long ago, we needed a Tagalog word which should correspond to "Government of the Commonwealth", "Autonomous Government", or "Semi-Independence"; and in our search for the proper derivative we chose *mala* in forming such new words as *Mala-Sariling Pamahalaan* (for "Autonomous or semi-Independent government"), and *Mala-Kasarinlan* ("Semi-Independence") which are now accepted and understood by the people.

VII

Combining of two rootwords which, if joined together as simple words or as compound words with or without elision, give a third word standing for a new idea and meaning.

Formerly, only three forms and ways of speech formation were recognized by authorities in linguistic science. Upon these forms and ways were based the classification of the languages of the world into three large groups.

The first group comprises the *monosyllabic* (or *isolating*) languages, "in which each word, usually a single syllable, expresses a single idea approximating that of the ideal root, and in which variations in parts of speech and syntactical relations are determined exclusively by the order in which the words are joined and by the use of particles."³⁶ The Tibetan, the Burman, the Siamese, and the Chinese languages belong to this group.

The second group is composed of the agglutinative languages "in which the root or its derivative is modified by the joining to it of secondary roots which gradually lose their original independence and resolve into mere prefixes, suffixes, infixes, etc."³⁷ To this group belong the Ural-Altaic, Dravidian, Austronesian, Bantu, and the Malayo-Polynesian languages.

The third group comprises the *inflected* or *inflectional* languages "in which the derivation and relationship of words are shown by symbolic change of the root or by fusional affixation of modifying elements."³⁸ To this class belong the "Semitic" or "Mediterranean" groups of languages, comprising the two families of Greek-Arabic-Hebrew languages, and of Latin and its modern ramifications, the Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, etc., otherwise known as the *romanic languages*.³⁹

As a modification of this principle of classification, the modern trend of linguistic science distinguishes two tendencies, namely: the *analytic* tendency (toward isolation) and the *synthetic* tendency (toward inflection). The *analytic* languages are those "which analyze the older inflected forms into combinations of independent words" to express a single idea. The *synthetic* languages are those "characterized by combination of simple words or elements into compound or complex words; expressing a complex notion by a single compounded or complex word instead of by a number of distinct words."⁴⁰

³⁶ *Webster's New International Dictionary*. 2d. ed. Springfield, Mass., Merriam, 1935. p. 1317.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1275.

³⁹ This classification is patterned after the principle elaborated by Karl Wilhelm Baron von Humboldt. "This principle cannot be applied practically to the classification of the languages of the earth, because few, if any, of them belong exclusively to any one class." (Clarence L. Meader, on "Classification of Languages," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1927, v. 16, p. 726b.)

⁴⁰ *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*; prepared by William Little and others; rev. and ed. by C. T. Onions. Oxford, 1933, v. 2, p. 2114.

The Tagalog language which is counted by linguists among the *inflectional* languages, because of its flexibility through the use of particles, may also resort to agglutination, as in the case of Malay and English which can compound two root words of independent meanings in order to form another word with a meaning partaking of those of the words compounded. This is another means that I am proposing for the enrichment of our language.

In English, for instance, two words can be compounded; for example:

time + keeper = timekeeper
store + house = storehouse
foot + ball = football, etc.

In Malay, similar combinations are made; for example:

matá ('eye') + hari ('day') = matahari ('sun')
kayu ('tree') + api ('fire') = kayuapi ('firewood')

We have the same procedure in Tagalog, although it is not the most distinguishing characteristic of this language. For example:

basag ('break') + ulo ('head') = basag-ulo ('trouble')
hanap ('find') + buhay ('life') = hanap-buhay ('occupation' or 'means of livelihood')
anak ('child') + pawis ('sweat') = anak-pawis ('laborer')
takip ('cover') + susô ('snail') = takip-susô (a plant whose leaves have the shape of a snail's)
babuy ('pig') + ramó or damó ('grass') = babuy-ramó ('wild pig')
dulu ('end') + bayan ('town') = dulumbayan ('outskirts of the town')
ganti ('return') + pala ('aid,' 'help,' or 'favor') = gantimpala ('prize' or 'reward'), etc.

We can resort to this procedure in word building to designate new things or ideas of this modern age, or products of modern science and economic progress.

I recall that at the time the famous Iloko leader Don Isabelo de los Reyes, now old and invalid, was writing and delivering speeches in Tagalog, one of the works which he had printed in Japan was his own translation of the Bible. He also published in *Muling Pagsilang* (a Tagalog newspaper) several suggestions to "Samahan ng mga Mananagalog" (Society of Tagalog Writ-

ers), for the formation and use of Tagalog words which might replace the Spanish loan-words. According to him, this was what the Japanese were doing with foreign loan-words in their own language. Among the compound words that he suggested were "daang-bakal" ('road of iron') for 'railroad'; "lakbay-bilis" (swift travel) for 'train'. For 'electricity' he suggested the compound word "ilaw-dagitab" (light flashes). These are Tagalog words although *dagitab* (or *dagilab*), which is found in old Tagalog dictionaries,¹¹ has long been forgotten. Although the words *daang-bakal*, *lakbay-bilis*, and *ilaw-dagitab* were not readily accepted by Tagalog writers of Mr. de los Reyes' time, later they became popular through frequent use.

The words *daan* and *bakal*, which are the Tagalog for 'way' or 'road', and 'iron', respectively, are now often written as one word, often contracted to *dambakal*. *Lakbay-bilis* is not so frequently used now.

The word *ilaw-dagitab* also was not satisfactory to some Tagalog writers and adherents. One of the learned Filipinos, the late botanist, Dr. Leon Maria Guerrero who, though not a Tagalog linguist was a great advocate of Philippine culture—said that *lintilaw* was better than *dagitab*, as the Tagalog word for 'electricity.' He explained that *lintilaw* is a compound of the words *lintik* ('lightning') and *ilaw* ('light'), and electric light comes from lightning. We can see, however, that both *ilaw-dagitab* and *lintilaw* refer only to electric light, and cannot be used for the "flow of electric juice" or "electric current".

I am mentioning the suggestions both of Don Isabelo de los Reyes and Dr. Leon Maria Guerrero, not to decide whether or not the words that they propose are appropriate for the things that they are supposed to represent, but merely to show how we can compound words which adequately represent things yet unnamed although their nature and use are already familiar to us.

We already have such words in Tagalog, each of which has perhaps been accidentally formed out of two words of independent meanings. In the process of compounding, sometimes whole words are put together, sometimes letters of syllables are eliminated from one of them, and sometimes letters or particles are prefixed, suffixed or infixes to them. The usual

¹¹ See Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar. *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*. 3rd. ed. Manila, Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860. p. 98a.

tendency in this process is to eliminate letters or syllables as much as possible so that the compound words may become shorter.

The following compound words are derived from two whole words:

- Balarilà < Bala + dilà
 Malikmatà < Balik + mata
 Talihugso < Tali + hugsô
 Talusirâ < Talo + sirâ
 Balaksilâ < Balak + silâ, etc.

The following compound words are derived from two words some parts of which are omitted:

- Parisukat < Paris + sukat
 Dampalit < Daan + paliit
 Sandakot < Isa-ng + dakot
 Bunghalit < Buo-ng + halit
 Tumbaga < Batu-ng + бага
 Munakalâ < Muni + akala, etc.

If we should accept the valuable suggestions of the late Dr. Leon Maria Guerrero, that *lintilaw* should stand for 'electric light', we would have an example of a compound word from two independent words both of which are shortened: *lintik* + *ilaw* (*linti* + *law*). On this basis, I would propose the word *daglat* (from *dagli* and *sulat*) which should correspond to the English word 'abbreviation'.

Of the above three ways of compounding words, the last two need further clarification, aside from the fact that certain rules should be established as to how compounding of two whole words and the elimination of certain parts (syllables or letters) of each. The formulation of those rules needs a separate treatment, but is mentioned here simply as one of the possibilities for further enrichment of Tagalog.

What I wish to say is that: if each of the words *dampalit*, *bunghalit*, *sandakot*, has been formed out of two independent words, *daang-paliit*, *buong halit*, *isang-dakot*, respectively, why can we not form similar words in the same manner? I am thinking that in this way we can use the word *dantaon* < *daan* + *taon*, for the Spanish 'siglo' or the English 'century'. Shades of colors for which we do not have appropriate words in Tagalog. For instance, we have *pula* ('red'), *puti* ('white'), *itim* ('black'), *dilaw* ('yellow'), *bughaw* ('blue'), *lunti* ('Green');

but we do not have specific words for "pink", "gray", "violet", "purple", "lilac", etc. For these colors, we may borrow from the other sister languages, preferably dysyllabic words if any, for primary colors for which Tagalog does not have the corresponding words. If such words do not exist even in the sister languages, we may create new words by compounding words that possess the elements necessary for the shades of colors that we wish to name. For example, if in the color, "pink", the "red" is more predominant than the "white", we may use *pula* ('red') in full with *ti* (discarding the syllable *pu* in *puti*,) ('white'), thus having *pulati* (for 'dark pink'); on the other hand, if "white" is more predominant in the "pink" and there is a very slight tinge of "red", we may use *puti* ('white') in full with *la* (discarding *pu* from *pula*) resulting in *putila* for 'palish' or 'whitish pink'.

In like manner, it follows that we may use—

pulatin (*pula* + *itin*) or *putimla*, for 'brown';

putilaw (*puti* + *dilaw*) for 'pale yellow';

pulanti (*pula* + *lunti*) for 'greenish red';

itimlaw (*itim* + *dilaw*) for 'yellowish black';

bughatin (*bughaw* + *itim*) for 'dark blue';

lumtilaw (*lunti* + *dilaw*) for 'yellowish green';

luntila (*lunti* + *pula*) for 'reddish green'; etc.

I am of the opinion that our words *putla* (paler), *pusyaw* (discoloration), *bughaw* (blue), might have been formed similarly.

What may we derive from the formation of the word *tumbaga* (alloy of gold and copper)? Although according to Dr. Pardo de Tavera this is a Sanskrit word, it is not improbable that this might have been derived also from two Tagalog words *bato-ng* ('stone') and *baga* ('embers' or 'burning coal'). Here, the first word *bató* retains its second syllable *to* or *tu* which necessitates the insertion of the ligature *-ng*, which by assimilation with *b* becomes *m*; the final form thus becomes *tum-baga*. By analogy, we may consider the following possibilities:

From *batóng uling* ('mineral coal')—*tunguling* or *batunling*;

" *batóng bakal* ('iron ore')—*tumbakal* or *batungkal*;

" *batóng buháy* ('granite')—*tumbuhay* or *batunghay*

" *batóng maningning* ('diamond')—*tungningning* or *batungning*

If we are to use these forms of compound words, it seems that the second form *batungkal*, *batunghay*, or *batungning*, is preferable, disregarding the model *tumbaga*, inasmuch as the first part *bato* is more generic than the second part which is merely a qualifying word. The acceptance of these word combinations will enrich Tagalog with new words of native origin which can adequately displace the corresponding Spanish loan-words which we have been accustomed to use.

It often happens that in conversation or in writing we find ourselves at a loss in our search for a word most appropriate for a beautiful idea newly conceived, a beautiful object seen or heard of for the first time because our language is still deficient in this particular instance. Then, all of a sudden, a word crops up, as if from nowhere, which satisfies our need for expressing an idea or describing an object; a word which has been "at the tip of our tongue but cannot be readily released." When these unexpected words crop up from the findings of serious investigators, they acquire the prestige of adequateness and readily find general acceptance.⁴²

One of the examples that should be mentioned in this connection is the word *bantayog*. For a considerable length of time we have been using the Spanish loan-word 'monumento' for the same idea. Then, all of a sudden, Mr. Jose N. Sevilla, in his search for an adequate Tagalog word to replace the Spanish, thought of *bantayog*, the essence of *Ano bang tayog!* an expression of wonder and respect upon beholding the image or monument to a hero! The word *bantayog* has been in general use ever since!

We may also include in this discussion the combination of two words already existing in our language to express in Tagalog such modern terms for measurement as 'barometer', 'thermometer', 'taximeter', etc. For example:

Barometer—*Panukat-hanġin*

Thermometer—*Panukat-init* (or *-lamig*)

Hydrometer—*Panukat-tubig* (or *-agos*)

Taximeter—*Panukat-layò* (or *-tulin*)

Chronometer—*Panukat-panahon*

⁴² In discussing the theories on the origin of speech, Margaret Schlauch observes that "The problem has naturally engaged the attention of idealists from the time of Plato onward." (*Science and Society*, 1937, v. 1, p. 29.)

We may even add other compound words for other kinds of measurement, such as—

- Panukat-taas*—height measure;
- Panukat-lalim* or *panarok*—depth measure;
- Panukat-luwang*—width measure;
- Panukat-lakás*—strength measure;
- Panukat-tagál*—Endurance measure;
- Panukat-habì*—Length measure; etc.

and for message transmission, we have—

- Pahatid-kawad*—('telegram' or 'cablegram')
- Pahatid-hangin*—('radiogram')
- Pangalat-tining* or *ka'at-tinig*—('sound-transmission' or 'broadcast')

Most of these compound words are already in common use, while a few are included here merely as examples.

VIII

Creation of words imitated or derived from the sound, form, idea, or other peculiarities of things to be represented by such words, and the agglutination of particles or portions of Tagalog words whose combination carries the ideas, movements and forms of things to be named thereby.

On the subject discussed in this chapter, I already published in 1911 a monograph in Spanish entitled, "*La Onomatopeya en el Idioma Tagalog.*"⁴³ In that monograph, I tried to demonstrate that Tagalog belongs to the most onomatopoetic group of languages; i.e., there are very many words in Tagalog which have been formed in imitation of sounds, actions, forms and other distinguishing characteristics of things or events described by those words.

If such imitation or derivation is a peculiarity in our language and is the process through which most of our old words were formed, now that we are in need of new words for new things created by man and nature, or brought here across the seas and introduced to us by modern civilization, we cannot possibly discard the *onomatopoetic* process of word formation

⁴³ In *Cultura Filipina*, September 1911, v. 2, no. 6, p. 529-566; reviewed by Francisco Quinteró in the same journal, October, 1911, v. 2, no. 7, p. 54-56.

as one of the principal means for the present and future enrichment of our national language.

Briefly, we may pick out a few of the outstanding rules applicable to the *onomatopoeitic* prevalence in the Tagalog language:

(a) Words naming things or ideas pertaining to light, wide plains, immensity, and wonderment, have the vowel *a* usually predominant; e.g.:

Araw (sun); *tanglaw* (illumination); *ganda* (beauty); *parang* (fields); *tahaw* (public, or open); *palanas* (plains or lower shores of rivers, delta); *dagat* (sea, ocean); *ibabaw* (surface); *talinghaga* (mystery); *katakataká* (wonderful), etc.

(b) Words indicating smallness, darkness, and lowest depth, are predominantly in vowel *i*; e.g.:

Alatit, *alitiit*, or *alitim* (squeaking sound); *bulilit*, *paslit* (small brat); *pusikit* (utter darkness); *kulimlim* (cloudiness); *yungib* (dark cave); *ilalim* (bottom); *lihim* (secret); *takipsilim* (dusk); *liñgid* (hide, hidden); *imik* (timid talk)

(c) Words indicating distance, concealment, enclosure, uppermost point or place, protection and covering are predominantly in *o* or *u*; e.g.:

Doon (there); *loob* (inside); *laot* (distant or high sea); *look* (bay); *kubkob* (surrounded); *bilanggo* (prisoner); *ulo* (head); *bundok* (mountain); *putong* (crown); *sukob* (get under); *tudong* (native palm or bamboo hat); *kupkop* (protection).

(d) Words expressing strength or power, greatness or highness, movements, use *l* predominantly; e.g.:

Laban (fight, combat); *lindol* (earthquake); *lintik* or *kidlat* (lightning); *kulog* (thunder); *lupa* (earth); *langit* (sky, heaven); *tala* (star); *ilog* (river); *lukso*, *lundag* (jump); *laglag* (fall); *lublob* (immersion); etc.

(e) Words indicating movement or action impeded or accompanied by noise are usually predominant in *k*, *g*, or *s* sound, characteristic of the object or action represented; e.g.:

Bagbag, *buag* or *tibag* (landslide; great disturbance or uneasiness); *balugbog* (strike with heavy stick); *galasgas* (grating sound); *laklak* (eat noisily); *bagisbis* (rapidity

or velocity causing noise by air friction); *sagitsit* (noise caused by sudden motion through water or other liquids); *liglig* (shake violently); *halikhik* or *halakhak* (gross or rude laughter); *kalantog* (big noise); *tugtog* (booming sound caused by striking some large object)

(f) Words pertaining to wind, air motion, breath, are usually with *h* sound; e.g.:

Amihan (north wind); *buhawi* (typhoon); *buhay* (life); *hihip* (blow of air or wind); *hikahos* (miserable existence); *hingalo* (agony, ebbing of breath or life); *hinagpis* (extreme sorrow); *hibik* (sigh, plaint); *higop* (sip in some liquid; suck in); *hagkis* (strike with a whip, rope, leather strap, etc); *halinghing* (groan or whine).

(g) Words expressing the idea or quality of gentleness, modesty, or timidity, are predominantly in *w* or *y*; e.g.:

Lumanay (gentleness); *lumbay* (silent grief); *anyaya* (invite); *pawi* (remove gently); *hawi* (part or put aside gently); *wagayway* (wave flag, cloth, gently); *kaway* (beckon gently with the hand); *simoy* (gentle breeze); *siway* (depart or separate stealthily).

(h) Words expressing fast movement or action are usually pronounced fast or abruptly; conversely, words indicating slow or gentle movement or action are pronounced slowly; e.g.:

Takbó (run); *lakad* (walk); *lanḡóy* (swim); *ligó* (bathe); *lakás* (strength); *hina* (weakness); *sabsab* (eat greedily); *kain* (eat); *haplós* (stroke a person or animal on the back hard or roughly); *himas* (stroke gently); *sigaw* (shout, cry out); *tawag* (call); *magsulát* (write intensely); *sumulat* (write).

The form and duration of a word are usually determined by the sound produced by action, the nature of the movement, and the parts involved in the performance or event implied by the idea expressed by the word. Usually, the words are in two syllables; sometimes in three or more syllables. For example, the words *sampal* (slap), *lukso* (jump up), *bagsak* (to drop some heavy object), *dagsa* (stampede or sudden arrival of many people), *bundol* (strike with a blunt object); here, the action consists of two parts: the cause and its direct effect. On the other hand, words in three syllables express action or event involving three or more movements of longer duration; for in-

stance: *aliw-iw* (ripples); *baligtad* (turned inside out); *balagwit* (staff or pole for carrying loads on its ends); *dagundong* (repeated big noise); *sampilong* (slap one's face violently); *saliksik* (look for something in, or go to, all nooks and corners); *saluksok* (to insert or encase a long object hard or violently, as a dagger or sword into its sheath); *tagistis* (noise of water flowing or running through the eaves, etc.) *taguktok* (blow or noise of the shoe heels of a person walking on a hard surface); etc. In these examples, the first syllables correspond to the initial movement; the second transition or duration of action leading to its termination; and the third syllable, to the accomplishment or ending of the action or movement.

Actions involving repeated movements or processes, whether mental or physical, are represented by words formed by reduplication of syllables or roots; for example—

- sawsaw* (to dip a finger or other object repeatedly into the water or other liquids so as to wet it slowly);
- lawlaw* (to lower down a string or clothing);
- pakpak* (wings; i.e., for repeated flapping);
- liglig* (shake repeatedly sideways);
- kipkip* (to carry under the armpit);
- tistis* (to cut or tear into strips);
- luglog* (to shake down repeatedly);
- kuskos* (rub something hard and repeatedly);
- taktak* (to strike a vessel or container downward to extricate its contents);
- saksak* (to thrust or strike with a pointed instrument);
- pukpok* (to strike repeatedly as with a hammer, club or anything heavy);
- ala-ala* (remember);
- dili-dili* (reflexion or intense thinking);
- gunangunam* (imagination, reflexion, remembrance);
- guniguni* (apprehension, preoccupation);
- muni-muni* (meditation);
- arag-arag* (panniers; wicker work);
- apat-apat* (four by four, or four at a time);
- tagni-tagni* (quilt, patch work);
- uli-uli* (whirlpool);
- unti-unti* (little by little);
- uguy-ugoy* (repeated swinging);

ali-aligid (hover habitually about a place, move frequently around a person or thing);

Bala-balansang (by teams of horses, oxen, etc.);

Dala-dalawa (two by two, in two's or in pairs);

Sanda-sandakot (one handful at a time);

Talu-talumpok (by heaps, or in heaps);

Tampi-tampilok, or *Tapi-tapilok* (wobbly, slippery, faulty, rough or rugged surface, causing one to stumble on it frequently)

These are only a few of the many ways of forming new words which can adequately represent the sound, motion, or form of new products or creations of modern industry, new opportunities, thinking and science. Adherence to these models and principles will enable a native Tagalog or one who knows Tagalog to form new words easily pronounced, pleasing to the ear, and easy to understand.

Included in this process of word-building which I call "onomatopoetic", is the agglutination of first syllables of independent words in order to form new words adequately expressing a complete idea or action. Let us take, for example, the modern scientific inventions already universally known—the *aeroplane* and the *hydroplane*. The equivalent of these two words are not yet found in our language, not only because they represent recent inventions but also because we are not the ones who invented them. Naturally, we have to use these foreign words. But since we know the general nature of these machines, where and how they are used, the advantages derived from using them, and the desirability of our having or making them ourselves, we should also have the appropriate native words for them. We see that the words used by the English, Spanish, French, Italian, Russian, Japanese, etc., are descriptive of the nature and use of these inventions. The word "aeroplane" represents the ideas expressed by the words "transportation", "flight", "air". From syllables of Tagalog words representing these various ideas, we can certainly form a new word to represent the single idea conveyed by "aeroplane". Thus, from the word *sasakyan* ('something to ride on'), let us take the first syllable *sa*; from *lipad* ('flight') the first syllable, *li*; and from *papawirin* ('air' or 'clouds') the first syllable of the root, *paw*, or even the first two syllables, *papaw*; by agglutinating these syllables, *sa-li-paw* (or *-papaw*) we have the new word *salipaw*, or *salipapaw*, which can easily be understood to mean "aeroplane." Analogous

formations are already in the old dictionary of Noceda and Sanlucar, such as—

Alipapaw ('very high', 'placed above')

Alapaw, salapaw ('shoot an arrow overhead'; 'mount a horse without using the stirrup')

Salikbuhó ('jump upward'; synonym of *silakbo*, 'outburst')

Saligasaw ('uproar of many people'; 'disturbed state'; 'murmur')

Saliguway ('to be sighted by a distant person')

Salilong ('to go to the shade')

Salimbay ('swooping down of a hawk to catch its prey')

Salinġit ('to hide in or pass through a narrow place')

Salipadpad ('to be wafted')

Similarly, we can form a Tagalog word for "hydroplane" by substituting *la* (from *langoy*, 'swim') for *li* (from *lipad*, 'flight'), so that we have *salapapaw*.⁴⁴

This manner of word formation, however, should not be resorted to carelessly. The formation of new words of more than three or four syllables should be avoided. Care should also be exercised so that the words thus formed are not disagreeable to the ear, or will not be mistaken for words already of common use in Tagalog, or foreign to our phonology, hence difficult for Filipinos to pronounce.

In addition to the above, there is a common trend in word formation based on the names of trade and transportation companies, entities, etc., introduced here by the Americans, Spaniards, and other foreigners. Most of the words are in English and Spanish, only a few in our own language, although these may later become popular with us. For example, we have—

SOCONY from Standard Oil Company of New York;

MERALCO from Manila Electric Railway and Light Company;

IFI from Iglesia Filipina Independiente;

ICAR from Iglesia Católica Apostólica Romana;

which are formed by the agglutination of first letters and syllables of independent words. Of new word formations consisting

⁴⁴ I read somewhere that the Cebu-Bisayan word for "aeroplane" is *salakhangin*; this is not a bad formation, although *salipapaw* is more expressive and fitting to the new idea.—L. K. Santos.

of first syllables from independent words, we already have the following well known examples:

PANTRANCO from Pangasinan Transportation Company;
PAMBUSCO from Pampanga Bus Company;
PASUDECO from Pampanga Sugar Development Company;
AUTOCAL from Automobile-Calesa;
ARNACAL from Arnaiz-Calvo; etc.,

It is possible for us to form new Tagalog words in the same manner. For instance, KABALAG is the name of an organization of sugar planters from the three adjoining Tagalog provinces of Kabite, Batangān and Laguna.

For local medicinal preparations or patent medicine, we already have quite a number of new words, which may also be included as examples under the preceding chapter. Some of these words are:

HIKAL, trade name for a medicinal preparation for *hika* ('asthma');

DUGOL, medicinal preparation for purifying the blood (*dugó*);

SALAGNAT, medicine for *lagnat* ('fever'); etc.,

which point a way not only for forming scientific names but also for enriching our language in general.

(To be continued)

SOURCES AND MEANS FOR FURTHER ENRICHMENT OF TAGALOG AS OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE

By LOPE K. SANTOS

Translated from Tagalog and supplied with footnotes by
GABRIEL A. DERNARDO

(Continuation)

IX

The use of the proper accentuation or diacritical marks on words which, if accentuated on different syllables, have two, three, four, or more meanings, either in their lexical or in their grammatical functions.

I consider the absence of printing types with accents and diacritical marks in our printing presses as one of the most serious causes of the impoverishment of the Tagalog language. Our vernacular newspapers, books, and other publications, are now printed in accordance with the practice of American typography which uses American-made printing machines intended primarily for the publication of works written in English.⁴⁵ The typewriting machines used in government offices and commercial firms are equally deficient, for the simple reason that most of the correspondence is carried on in English. For the same reason, even printed matter in Spanish is also defective from the point of view of proper accentuation.

The most richly financed of our Tagalog newspapers and other periodicals and the largest of our printing presses have purposely neglected to provide the necessary types, printing machines and typewriters specially needed for the publication of Tagalog works. They reason out that these special types and machines are no longer necessary, since printed matter can be easily read and understood without the use of accented letters. The use of accents to indicate correct pronunciation unnecessarily increases the variety of types in the printing and typewriting machines, and complicates the work of the type-setter or the typist. At this age of speed and simplification, the use of ac-

⁴⁵ This observation is quite accurate with respect to commercial presses in the Philippines. The Bureau of Printing is the only possible exception, although even its sets of types are not adequate enough for the printing of linguistic and other scientific works requiring special phonetic and other symbols.

cents has become a nuisance. Works in English are printed without any accentuation marks, and yet that language is now considered as one of the most developed and the most adequate in expressing the most advanced scientific ideas.

Because of these arguments, our writers and readers have become accustomed to the absence of accentuation marks in written and printed works in Tagalog. I wish to remind them, however, that through their mistaken economy, they have unknowingly become the "hangmen" of the Tagalog language by depriving it of almost one half of its inherent vitality; in other words, they have become the destroyers of the greater portion of the wealth of the language of Francisco Balagtas.⁴⁶

There are thousands of Tagalog substantives which when accented in different syllables vary in meanings and grammatical functions. More than one half the number of our verbs also change in usage, quality, tense and mood just by the mere shifting of their syllabic stresses and accents. We would be committing countless errors in our understanding of what we read, if words which call for different stresses and accents in their various syllables and assume two, three, four, or even more meanings are not properly provided with the necessary diacritical marks to indicate such differentiation.

Writers who possess a rich vocabulary and a wealth of ideas, especially among the poets, often desist from using beautiful phrases and figures of speech in the literary works which they write for publication, for fear that they might not be understood by their readers, because of the absence in printing presses of special types which have the necessary accentuation marks or symbols on words which vary in meanings when stresses or accents shift from one syllable to another.

Because of the elimination of accentuation marks on printed words, even the masters of the Tagalog language often differ from one another in the pronunciation and use of words which have indistinct accents or stresses. Some read *guró*, *dulá*, *mutawí*; others would read the same words as *guró*, *dulá*, *mutawí*. One versifier would rhyme *bansá* with *pag-asa*, *ligaya*, *talagá*; another, with *tuwá*, *layá*, *paksá*. Some would rhyme *alò* with *talo*, and others with *pusò*. Some would pair *naunsiyamí* with *dilidili*; others, with *hunusdili*. In declaiming poetry

⁴⁶ Francisco Balagtas or Baltazar was the greatest Tagalog poet of the nineteenth century. He was the author of *Florante at Laura* (1838), the best masterpiece among the Tagalog *awits* (metrical romance in Alexandrines).

and in delivering speeches, especially in radio broadcasts, we often hear such mispronunciations as *nawásak*, *malútás*, *tuláin*, *tinutanggap*, and many other words, instead of *nāwasak*, *malútas*, *túláin*, *tinátanggap*, etc. Time and space do not permit us to give innumerable other words of similar nature to illustrate how writers, versifiers, declaimers and speakers disagree in pronouncing the same words, because of the absence of the proper accentuation marks.

But let us consider the confusion of meanings in sentence construction when accents are not indicated. For instance, if you see the sentence *Mahuli ang banka kaya nahuli*,⁴⁷ how would you read it and what meaning would you give to it? Similarly, when you read the interrogative sentence *Anó ang magaling na gumót sa baga?* ⁴⁸ what medicine would you prescribe? Again, in the question *Nakain ba kayo ng pako?* ⁴⁹ can you determine which is the subject and which is the object and what this object is?

Thousands of such ambiguous sentences are possible when accentuation marks are not used, but the above examples are sufficient illustrations.

We can thus see how greatly needed is the careful use of accentuation marks in our writings and in our publications. The mistaken economy of eliminating these marks destroy and impoverish our language. On the other hand the use of these marks enriches our words and helps us to avoid errors in pronunciation and confusion in meanings, aside from the fact that it makes possible the proper and abundant use of figures of speech.

We have in Tagalog only three diacritical or accentuation marks, although we have six different ways of stressing words. The stresses may be characterized as follows:

(1) *Malumay* or *banayad* ('easy' or 'gentle'); e. g., *bahay* (house), *lañgit* ('sky', 'heaven');

⁴⁷ This sentence is meaningless without the necessary accentuations; accented and corrected, it assumes two different meanings, thus: *Mahúli ang banka kaya náhuli*, "The boat was full of catch (fish) so that it came late"; or, *Náhuli ang bungka kaya mahúli*, "The boat stayed behind, that is why it was full of catch (fish)."

⁴⁸ What medicine is good for the lungs (*baga*)? or for the abscess (*baga*)?

⁴⁹ This sentence may be corrected and clearly understood as follows: *Nakákain* or *kumakain ba kayo ng pako?* "Have you eaten or do you eat, *pako* (salt-water herb?)"

Nákain here is a dialectical variation commonly used in certain Tagalog regions. *Pako* is "iron nail," which cannot be used with sense in the above sentence.

(2) *Mabilis* or *masigla* ('swift' or 'lively'); e.g., *ganda* ('beauty'), *lihí* ('conception' or 'act of becoming pregnant' or 'being conceived'), *kalupkóp* ('rivet');

(3) *Marín* ('heavy'); e.g., *bálana* ('any one' or 'anything'), *dárating* ('will arrive');

(4) *Malumí* or *masagal* ('slow' or 'lingering'); e.g., *layá* ('freedom'), *ugali* ('custom'), *pusò* ('heart');

(5) *Maragsá* or *biglá* ('abrupt' or 'sudden'); e.g., *walá* ('none' or 'nothing'), *dugó* ('blood'); *madal* ('quick'); and

(6) *Malc-aw* or *pahakdaw* ('jerky' or 'jolting'); e.g., *tan-aw* ('look'), *aliw-iw* ('ripples'), *salag-oy* ('obstruction').

The three accents used in Tagalog are the following:

(') *hilis* or *pahilis* (equivalent to the acute accent), used in the second (2) type of stress;

(˘) *iwa* or *paiwa* (equivalent to the grave accent, indicating the final glottal catch), used in the fourth (4) type of stress;

(^) *kupá* or *pakupá* (circumflex, used "when the final accented vowel is followed by the glottal catch," or the combination of the acute and the grave accents), used in the fifth (5) type of stress;

For the sixth (6) type of stress, it is not the accent but the dash that is used between the two syllables which are separately pronounced. This may not be considered as a real stress but a jolt in the pronunciation. Instead of the hyphen (-), an apostrophe (') may be used, similar to what is used in contractions of words.

It is seen that not very many but only three or four marks are necessary in order to indicate accents and stresses which will make the writing and pronunciation of Tagalog words more correct and clear, and avoid errors in meanings. Such marks are also one of the means of enriching our language and of making their study easier.

The five or six types of pronouncing words constitute a peculiarity of our language which is not found in English, so that we cannot follow the latter.³⁰ The additional efforts in writing

³⁰ Otto Jespersen in his *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (Heidelberg, 1922) indicates seven "principles which determines the place of stress either in a word ('word-stress') or in a group of words ('sentence-stress'): Analogy, Contract, Heaviness, Rhythm, Tradition (or Conservatism), Unity, and Value (or the psychological importance of the element concerned." He also uses a broader classification of "Full stress, Stronger or weaker half stress, and Unstressed." (v. 1, p. 150.)

the diacritical marks and in tapping the linotype or the typewriter's keyboard would not be so superfluous or as troublesome, compared with the writing and printing of English words. Thousands of English words contain more than one vowel or consonant in single syllables, but which are not even sounded when the whole words are pronounced. Let us further consider the fact that there are English words containing two, three, and even four vowels put together, each of which is pronounced distinctly, and that this difficulty is not found in Tagalog. If the expenditure of time and effort in writing and printing unnecessary letters in English is not considered as superfluous, much more reason do we have in taking the trouble to indicate accentuation marks which are necessary in Tagalog words and which is one of the sources of wealth of our language.

X

The application of the "NEPA" principle to our language; i.e., borrowed words, or words imitated from the foreign languages, should be replaced with native words, if these exist; the writing and pronunciation in accordance with our own orthography and pronunciation of words which, being legitimately of our own language, have been changed to, and made to conform with, the Spanish orthography and pronunciation. Most of these words represent names of persons, towns, provinces, islands, mountains, forests, rivers, seas, bays, etc.

The word NEPA, although derived from the initials of the English name of a national association which is gaining adherence in the Philippines at present—"National Economic Protectionism Association"—is written and pronounced in accordance with the nature and rules of our mode of speech, so that it is now considered as part of our everyday vocabulary, and has been accepted as a synonym for *Tangkilikan* ('mutual protection'), or 'the building up of our national economic system.' In other words, NEPA is a term which symbolizes a serious attempt at cooperation in carrying out the idea of "Ours first, before others."⁵¹

⁵¹ "NEPA" must remain as a purely local adaptation. The English language has incorporated similar terms conveying different meanings, thus: "Nep, NEP. Short term for New Economic Policy. *Nepa*, n. 1. Zool. A genus of insects (Order Hemiptera) consisting of the water scorpions . . . 2. *Nepas*. Astron. The constellations of Cancer, Hydra, and Scorpio combined. *Rare*." -(*Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*. Second edition. Springfield, Mass., Merriam Company, 1935, p. 1640c).

The creation of new words, similar to the formation of NEPA, has already been discussed under Chapter VIII of the present study. This word is mentioned here not only to express the main idea embodied in the present or last chapter, but also to show that if nationalism pervades our commercial, economic, governmental, and political, educational, and even religious life, it should also characterize our efforts toward the creation of our national language and literature. More advanced countries are also moving in this direction. It is our right and our duty to form a language that is truly ours, to create new words that are specially appropriate to and in accordance with our own orthography and phonology.

The scope of this last chapter would be very greatly extended if the boundaries that should be traced and every possibility explored in carrying out the principles and aims of NEPA with respect to the nationalism of Tagalog. The nine sources and means for further enrichment of our language which have already been discussed should and must be subordinated to the demands of a strong national literature....

It would not be against the NEPA principles for us to borrow anything from our neighbors, far and near, if what we borrow is very necessary and we do not have it yet. But to borrow from others when we already have our own or when we can create our own would be both improper and dishonorable. It would still be worse to pretend poverty when we are in actual abundance, or through indolence to neglect our own and depend on others for our needs.

In this connection, I may cite the following examples:

(a) We have been borrowing and adopting many foreign loan words even if we have their equivalent in our own language. Our critics interpret this as our acknowledgment of the inferiority of our own culture to those of other advanced peoples. We have borrowed such words, for instance as *Diyós* (from 'Dios'), *bandilâ* (from 'bandera'), *bintanâ* (from 'ventana'), *moskitero* (from 'mosquitero'), *sibuyas* (from 'cebollas'), *a-las-dos*, and many other words derived from the Spanish, as if we do not have their respective equivalents—*Bathalâ*, *watawat*, *duñgawan*, *kulambô*, *lasuna*, *ika-dalawa*, etc.

(b) We are still accustomed to use such phrases as *Kumusta kayo?* *permiso pô*, *adyós*, *a ber ñga*, *mientras tantong walâ*, *eskiyus mi*, *bay-en-bay*, *papá*, *mamá*, *dadi*, *mami*, etc., as if it is improper to use their equivalent in our own language, like *Maano*

po sila (o *ang buhay nilá*), *pasintabi po*, *paalam na po*, *tingnan ko nâga*, *habang (samtantalang) wala*, *mawalang galang po* (o *ipagpaumanhin po ninyo*), *mayamaya*, *amá*, *iná*, etc.

(c) In using phrases, foreign construction is still common to us; for instance: *lubhang kanais-nais* (imitated from the Spanish phrase "es muy de desear" or from the English "it is greatly to be wished"). Tagalog has its own way of expressing the same idea; *sukat naisin*, or *karapat-dapat nasain*.

Málaro't madali, *makukuha ko rin* (imitated from the Spanish "tarde ó temprano lo conseguiré" or from the English "sooner or later I shall get it") is more idiomatically expressed in Tagalog, thus: *sa kárlan ba't di makukuha ko rin*.

Malayong makabuti'y lalong makasama (imitated from the Spanish "lejos de hacer un bien, más daño ha causado") which in idiomatic Tagalog can be expressed thus: *hindi na nakabuti ay nakasama pa*, ("instead of doing good, it has done harm.").

Makatawag ng pansin, or *tawagan ng pansin* (an imitation of the Spanish "llamar la atención" or of the English "to call the attention") is more idiomatically expressed in Tagalog in several ways; for example: *Magpagunita o pagpagunitoán*, *makapukaw o pukawan ng kalooban*, *makagising sa alaala*, etc.

In connection with this problem, I have already published a list and an analysis, as part of a lengthy article entitled "Surian ng Wika", in the now defunct weekly *Sampagita*.¹²

(d) Many names of districts, towns, provinces, islands, mountains, forests, rivers, seas, bays, etc., are words from the Tagalog or other Philippine languages. Many of these names, however, have been written and pronounced differently from

¹² That is "Language Forum"; appearing anonymously under this title, beginning with the issue of *Sampagita* for March 30, 1926 (p. 6), and in serial form through April 6, p. 21; April 13, p. 39; April 20, p. 35. Beginning with the issue for May 18, 1926 (p. 19), the section appeared under the new heading "Surian ng Sariling Wika" (Forum on Native Language) with the pseudonym of *Lapi-Kalidasa* (Lope K. Santos). The article appearing under this new heading for May 25, 1926 (p. 37) is entitled "Ang Katangian ng Wikang Tagalog" by Martin F. Venago; contained on June 8, 1926, p. 25-28; June 22, 1926, p. 17-18; Mr. Santos, under his pseudonym, continued this section beginning with the issue for April 3, 1927 (p. 15), and through subsequent issues as follows: April 12, p. 8; April 19, p. 45; April 26, p. 14; May 1, p. 34; May 8, p. 48; May 15, p. 47-48; May 22, p. 41; May 29, p. 37; June 5, p. 15; June 12, p. 33-34; June 19, p. 45; June 26, p. 47-48; June 26 (= July 3), p. 7-8; July 10, p. 5; July 17, p. 7; July 24, p. 45; July 31, p. 33; Aug. 7, p. 11; Aug. 4, p. 7; Aug. 14, p. 21; Aug. 28, p. 33; Sept. 14, p. 29; Sept. 11, p. 33-34; W3p5. 18, p. 27; Sept. 25, p. 45; and Oct. 2, p. 47.

the original words, following their awkward pronunciations in Spanish. The following are a few examples:

Antique, corresponding to Hantik
Angono, corresponding to Anguno
Banajao, corresponding to Banahaw
Batangas, corresponding to Batangan
Binangonan, corresponding to Binangunan
Calamba, corresponding to Kalamba
Cavite, corresponding to Kawit
Cebu, corresponding to Sugbu
Dumaguete, corresponding to Dumagit
Guagua, corresponding to Wawa
Jolo, corresponding to Sulú
Pampanga, corresponding to Kapampangan
Paragua, corresponding to Palawan
Zamboanga, corresponding to Samburangan
Zambales, corresponding to Sambali

Hundreds of other examples may be added to the above list, but those given here are sufficient for illustrations. It should be noted in this connection that many of these names have already been accepted in their present forms and cannot or should not be changed, because modified as they are from the original native words, they have been generally accepted, and it is not an easy matter now to change them, especially as they have already been fixed in gazetteers, maps and atlases, and in books and other forms of historical writings. Only those which can be changed without difficulty should be restored to their native forms. At all events, names of purely Philippine origin should be written out and pronounced as Filipinos should write and pronounce them, especially in speaking among themselves. In these times of Nepa, it seems inappropriate to hear or read such names as *Batangas* for *Batangan*; *Pampanga* for *Kapampangan*; *Binangonan* for *Binangunan*, *Parañaque* for *Palanyag*; *Malate* for *Maalat*; *Pasáy* for *Pasay*; *Jolo* for *Sulu*; *Laguna de Bay* for *Dagatang-Bai* or *Dagat-Bai*.

With reference to the name *Pasáy* instead of *Pasay*, I recall an interesting anecdote about the late Bulakan Tagalog writer, popularly known by the pet name "Matandang Anong" (i.e., "Old Anong", for Valeriano Hernández Peña), and a street car conductor. During the time when he was still a member of the editorial staff of "Muliḡ Pagsilaḡ", he used to

take a street car on the Pasay line. Becoming impatient with hearing the conductor shouting "Pasáy, Pasáy!" every time he boarded the street car, he could not contain himself, and the following dialogue ensued:

Hernandez—Hoy, pare! Are you a Tagalog?

Conductor (surprised)—Yes, sir!

H—Therefore, you are the true son of your father?

The conductor looked at the old man from head to foot, and then angrily retorted: "And why that question?"

H—Because your father has forgotten to straighten your tongue!

The conductor uttered "Aba!" in great surprise; and when his face began to turn red, Tandang Anong continued: "You know, my son, in our language, there are words that are pronounced abruptly and words that are pronounced gently. From now on, do not say *Pasáy* but *Pasay*; *ulól* ('crazy') is different from *úlo* ('head'); *utál* ('stutter') from *útak* ('brain'); don't you see now?"

The conductor did not know whether to laugh or to get mad.

The use of *papá* and *mamá* by children of Filipino parents who assume the Castilian airs is a serious violation of NEPA principles; but from the Tagalog viewpoint this may still be excused on the ground that *papá* (for 'father') somewhat approaches the idea that it is the father's brain and brawn that give the child his *papá* (baby name in Tagalog for 'food'), and *mamá* (for 'mother') somewhat suggests the idea that it is from the mother's breasts that *mam* (baby name in Tagalog for 'drink') comes. But it is not so easy for any one who has any sense for propriety in Tagalog usage to reconcile himself with the newly adopted words *daá-di* ('daddy') and *mam-mi* ('mammy') so commonly used now by Filipino children, because these two words may easily be mistaken for other Tagalog words and ideas which are never expressed in polite society.

Before closing this tenth and last chapter on the enrichment of our national language, I wish to devote a few lines to one of the noble tasks of NEPA in our literature, quite different from any other trend in this direction. Nationalism in literature, it seems to me, is not only of this earthly life; it encompasses something of the ideal and the spiritual.

I do not wish to be misunderstood as attempting to carry my discussion to 'forbidden grounds.' What I have to say now

is based on our spiritual history as a Christian people, covering a period of about four centuries.

Because we are Christians, we derive our first names (sometimes our surnames also) from the Christian calendar or the Roman Catholic martyrology. Nowadays, however, we hear of Filipino names derived from those of Spanish, English, and even pagan peoples, even if those who bear these names are also Christians. For instance, there are such names as *Azucena*, *Aúrea*, *Carminea*, *Dalia*, *Florinda*, *Mita*, *Roger*, *Oscar*, *Patria*, *Zenaida*, and a hundred others. We cannot understand how these names can be considered by a Tagalog as any more beautiful and sweeter than such pure Tagalog or Philippine names as *Luwalhati*, *Lakambini*, *Paraluman*, *Ligaya*, *Luningning*, *Liwayway*, *Dalisay*, *Bituin*, *Langit*, *Adnika*, *Smagtala*, *Bayani*, *Panganorin*, *Dakila*, *Makaaraw*, *Makairog*, *Pangarap*, *Diwa*, *Buhay*, *Palad*, *Tagumpay*, *Mutya*; also *Rizal*, *Plaridel*, *Soliman*, *Lakan-dula*, and other names of heroes of our land and people.

These names may sound funny at first, because we have acquired the habit of considering anything foreign as better than our own. But when we become accustomed to these names through long usage, they will become sweeter to our hearing and more beautiful to our sight. At any rate, they are certainly sweeter and more beautiful even now than such Roman or Christian names as *Nicolasa*, *Simplicia*, *Bárbara*, *Candido*, *Alejo*.

If we are not in favor of sudden or violent change we should at least gradually accustom ourselves to the use of names and other words found in our language and history. Our own may be faulty, but it is better than anything borrowed. We should remember that no child is ugly to its own mother. Our language is the child of our own people, and as long as we live and are not ashamed to be considered as of that people, body and soul, in blood, in complexion, in color and in our whole being, we have no valid reason to reject, or to be ashamed of, names that properly belong to our own language.

And if there are churches which do not approve of christening our children with names not included in the Roman calendar or in the list of Spanish or other Christian names, let every believer follow his own creed; but at least in the use of pet names, let us freely adopt our own. Certainly, the native names I have suggested above cannot be any worse than such pet names as *Anggê*, *Baráng*, *Basyang*, *Bosy*, *Birê*, *Buró*, *Kulasa*, *Makyà*,

Patsay, Puró, Tangkê, Tinggê, Baldô, Kandô, Kusép, Inggô, Umâ, Ehong, Dyon, Nik, etc.

I have advanced the idea that this noble task of the NEPA in our language transcends our physical life. I may be pardoned if what I have to say should seem improper to those of other religious beliefs. In illustrating my points, I do not in the least intend to ridicule or to make fun of anyone.

If the high heavens are the abode of holy and noble souls, it would not be an exaggeration to surmise that perhaps not a few Filipino souls are also there. In the four centuries of Christianity in the Philippines, not a few natives who lived and died must have had their souls so purified as to gain admission into a glorious after-life. And yet, in the entire Roman martyrology or in other lists of Christian saints, there is not a single name to identify a native Filipino, or a native Oriental.²

If our own people with native names of *Luwalhati, Lakambini, Paraluman, Ligaya, Bayani, Makairog, Diwâ*, etc., through holy living should be counted among the immortals after their death, so that their names would appear, after their death, in the list of saints as *San Luwalhati, San Bayani*, etc., these very names would be the unmistakable proof that in heaven we also have true Filipino immortals.

And this, we shall owe to the extension of the NEPA movement even to the adoption of Christian names.

CONCLUSION

I must now conclude by explaining my aims and reasons for choosing at the present time the subject I have just discussed. I realize that not all who are present in this gathering are Tagalog writers; that not everyone is Tagalog-born, or in favor of the Tagalog language. Out of respect for the wishes of others, I have refrained from assuming a categorical stand on the national language question. It should be noted that at the outstart, I stated the problem conditionally, as follows: *Should Tagalog be chosen as the basis for our national language, what are the sources and means to be resorted to for its further enrichment?*

This conditional statement admits the possibility of choosing a basic language other than the Tagalog, or of the chance that

² Considering that Christianity originated from the East, and that such names as Barlaam and Joaseph (so well known in comparative literature) are also Oriental, the author's observation here should be applicable only to native Filipino names.

even if Tagalog be chosen for this purpose, it might develop into something quite different from its present nature and form, especially if certain provisions in Commonwealth Act No. 184, creating the Institute of National Language, were to be carried out in a manner not altogether free from the old malady of sectionalism.

Should the hope that Tagalog be chosen as the basic language fail to materialize, it would at least be a consolation to realize that it can still continue to enrich itself further, through the sources and means I have just pointed out. This alternative would be preferable to Tagalog being chosen as the basic language, only to emerge from the laboratories of the National Language Institute in a form entirely new and foreign to more than two million born in that tongue and to possibly another two million who, though they are not Tagalog born, also know and speak it.

It would also be more preferable to see this mother tongue entirely abandoned as a basis, rather than to have it launched out as such with the embellishments unbecoming to its true nature and which would make it foreign to its own children and friends.

I am confident that the honorable scholars who will compose our Institute of National Language will not ignore the lessons which experience has taught us in the frustration of all plans for a universal language, formed out of a conglomeration of materials and molded not through the natural processes of language development but through arrogant minds who wish to excel nature itself. I refer to the Volapuk, the Esperanto, and the other artificially created languages.

It is our hope that the members of the Institute will avoid creating a language that is entirely new, unrecognizable to all, and difficult for everybody to learn. In the place of such a language, English or Spanish would be much more acceptable to us.

It would be unbearable to imagine that the thousands of books, periodicals, and other works which up to the present time have been the source of pride and inspiration of Tagalog literature, would have to be burned as so much trash in our public and private libraries, when a new language comes gradually into our midst, still to be claimed also as Tagalog but already so foreign to all of us. Yet this national calamity is likely to occur if in interpreting the provisions of our Constitution with respect to the formation of a national language, we are merely

to select one of our native languages, and that after it is selected we are to leave nothing of it except its bare essence or skeleton. It is my belief that the language to be chosen as the basis should be adopted in its entirety, and any addition thereto which may be taken from the other sister languages should be so modified as to fit into its own basic rules and natural ways.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that our language cannot be made national until it is fully developed as to meet all the requirements of advanced knowledge. This mistaken notion has led some people to believe that only those who have taken advanced studies in Oriental languages in foreign countries can undertake the preparation of one Philippine national language. I do not deny that a national language scientifically prepared is most desirable, but I maintain that the solution of this problem, especially in the Philippines at present, is largely attainable through practical rather than scientific means, for we need something more of the tangible than of the ideal.

It is not a language of the highest quality, a most scientific and excellent one, that we need immediately, but a language for the most generalized use and can be most easily learned and understood by the greatest number of people, including the most ignorant; a language which already possesses the most extensive literature and not limited to isolated groups and types of citizens. The days of the Mandarin language of the nobility and ruling classes of China and of the *Hindustani* of the priests of India, are long gone.

It would not be difficult for any language to develop scientifically once it becomes nationally widespread; but first it has to be generally accepted and developed for the use of the greatest number of people. Gradually it can also be developed into a language by and for the learned who are bound to introduce new words and phrases to meet their own needs.

Fortunately the Tagalog language already has sufficient natural qualities and means for further development so that it may meet the requirements of the most highly advanced, critical and modern civilization.

Tonight, I have endeavored to present and analyze these special qualities and means, to which this select audience has so patiently listened. I consider this occasion already a triumph not of my humble person or of my bold attempts, but of the Tagalog language in the first place, and of the University of the Philippines in the second place. At last, this high institu-

tion of learning has widely opened its doors, so as to give an honored place to the language of Balagtas, Pilapil, de Castro, Rizal, Bonifacio, del Pilar, Jacinto, Mabini, and other learned scholars and heroes of the Filipino race. And this is an infinite blessing, a most high honor which I feel most sincerely in behalf of our mother tongue, of the above mentioned scholars and heroes, and in the name and for the redemption of our native land.

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